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THE HANUMANTHAPUR COPPER
PLATE GRANT OF ANANTA
VARMA SON OF DEVENDRA
VARMA

SRI SRI SRI LAKSHMINARAYAN HARICHANDAN
JAGADEB RAJAH BAHADUR,

Puratatwavisarad, Vidyavachaspathi,
Rajah Saheb of Tekkali.

A certain farmer, in Hanumanthapur village in Chicacole Taluk, while tilling his lands found a set of copper plates. I have secured them from him. The set contains three copper plates. The three plates have each a hole in the middle of the left side of the plate, through which a stout copper ring has been passed. At the joint of the two ends, there is a royal seal, the memorable seal of the Varman family of the Ganga Dynasty in Kalinga. The seal is like a lotus flower with four petals. On the top of the seal there is an ox in sitting posture and above the ox there is a conch shell. In the seventh century Kamarnava and five other princes of Ganga Dynasty who extended their sway over Kalinga, had come from Gangabadi. The eldest Kamarnava whose family assumed the royal dignity of Kalinga and took to themselves the title of Varman, administered an unrefuted Era during their reign. In the plate the names of Devendra Varman and his son Ananta Varman, who belonged to the said eldest family, are written. The mode of writing, the language and the titles of these kings, are striking proofs to denote that the inscription belongs to the Varman Dynasty. More so, as it was written from Kalinganagar, it is quite apparent that they were Kalinga kings, and Gokarneswar, at the top of Mahendra hill in the Ganjam District, was their family God. The unrefuted era of that dynasty, which was in

vogue systematically, was written in the plate as 300 years in the conquered country. The plate was written in the Sanskrit language but in the Brahmi script. Seven lines on the second side of the first plate, seven lines on the first side of the second plate, seven lines on the second side of the second plate, and eight lines on the first side of the third plate, had been inscribed. As there are no writings on the first side of the first plate and on the second side of the third plate, they serve as covers of the plates and so the writings in them are in good order. Chandicharan village was granted to Vishnu Bhatta, son of Harischandra Bhatta of Kaundinyasa Gotra. It is difficult to know the boundary and limits of the village gifted as they are written incorrectly. The plate was written by the minister and inscribed by one named Akhyasalinajaya. It is believed that as the inscriber was ignorant of the language, the whole text of the plate became incorrect. In other gifted plates, the exemplary slokas from Vyâsa-gita are also quoted.

Description of the plates: The plates are $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches long and $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches broad. The diameter of the ring is 25 inches. The diameter of the royal seal is .85 inches. The three copper plates together with the ring are $26\frac{1}{2}$ tolas in weight. The copy of the text of the plates is quoted here in Devanagari characters for the information of the readers. As the language of the plates is incorrect to a large extent, the amended text also is published along with the original.

The original text of the plate

Second side of the first plate:-

१ ओं स्वस्तु ओ मर पुराणु कारिता शर्वतुं सुखरम

२ जोयाविजयवत् कलिङ्ग नगराधि वाशकामदे

- ४ गुरो सकल भवन निर्मित ओनेक सूत
- ५ धारसि शासाङ्क चूड़ाणि भगव
- ६ तो गोकर्ण स्वभिन चरण कमल युगल
- ७ प्रणमद्विगत कलिकाल कलङ्का ओनेक

First side of the second plate:—

- १ हव सख भजनित जयसवृ पूतपवन
- २ तस मशत सामन्त शम चक चूड़ाणि प्रभम
- ३ झरि पूजरज्ञित वर चरणसित कुमुद
- ४ कुदेय्यवदात यसोध्वशत रतिकुलच
- ५ लानय विनयदय दानवख क्षेन्यसजि
- ६ इर्ज्य शतित्य गधेयुणसपदा धारम्
- ७ तो परम माहेश्वरो मातापित्र

Second side of the second plate:—

- १ पादानुध्यातो गङ्गा मल कुलतिलक महारा
- २ जश्री देव विवर्म्म सून्म श्री ओनन्तवर्म्म
- ३ देवता उदक पूर्वकुत्वास्यज्यंत हे परता
- ४ सप्रदत—कण्डिल्यगोत्र हरिचन्द्रसू
- ५ त्रुविषभटण उपाजितं वाइ
- ६ भिणिचरणन्न म्होरोकक्ट भिनिद
- ७ हह सवहल भुमिचतुराङ्कड

First side of the third plate:—

- १ सिलाङ्कित तट केन शहिता तनयव
- २ श प्रवध मानविष्ययो राजसवछरसत
- ३ तृष्णि ओंबनाशाट८ लिखितमिदमतुभिरिश
- ४ मतेण ! भव्योर्ध्व ओख साक्षिन नजेणा उह
- ५ ण भवं८ ! वातैदपि, दुभागिगिताभि शो भुवेति
- ६ यश्य यश्य यदाभुमितासितया तदाफलं, शदत
- ७ पर दाताम्बियेह रेतिवसुवरा सवित्ययक्तमि

Corrected text

Second side of the first plate:—

- १ ओं स्वस्ति अमर पुरानु कारिण स्सर्वतु सुखरम-
- २ णीयाद्विजयवतः कलिङ्ग नराधिवासकान्महे-
- ३ नदा चलामल शिखरप्रतिष्ठितस्य सचराचर
- ४ गुरो स्सकल भुवन निर्माणैक सुत्र
- ५ धारस्य शशाङ्क चूडामणिर्भगव-
- ६ तो गोकर्ण स्वामिनश्चरण कमल युगल
- ७ प्रणमाद्विगत कलिकाल कलङ्को नेका-

First side of the second plate:—

- १ हव संशोभ जनित जय शब्द पूतपावनि-
- २ त समस्त सामन्त चक्र चूडामणि प्रभाम-
- ३ झरी पुज्जरञ्जित वर चरिताशित कुमुद
- ४ कुन्देन्दूवदात यशोव्वस्ता राति कुलाच-
- ५ लो नयविनय दया दान दाक्षिण्य शौद्यौ-
- ६ दार्य सत्य त्यागादि गुण सम्पदाधारभू-
- ७ तो परम माहेश्वरो मातापितृ

Second side of the second plate:—

- १ पादानुष्यातो गङ्गामल कुलतिलक महारा-
- २ ज श्री देवेन्द्र वर्म सूतु, श्री अनन्त वर्म
- ३ देवेन उदक पूर्व कृत्वा सूर्यप्रहोपरागे
- ४ संप्रदत्तः। कौण्डिन्यस गोत्र हस्तिन्द्र स्-
- ५ तुविष्णु भेषण उपाजितं-
- ६ चण्डिचरण आमोदं × × ×
- ७ × × × × ×

First side of the third plate:—

- १ × × × × × गंगवं-
- २ श प्रवर्धमान विजयराज्य सम्वत्सरशत
- ३ त्रिशि × × × लिखितमिद मंत्रिभिरोक्तव्य-
- ४ म्मतेन। उत्स्कोर्णे अक्षशालिन जयेत

SECOND SIDE OF THE FIRST PLATE

FIRST SIDE OF THE SECOND PLATE

SECOND SIDE OF THE SECOND PLATE

FIRST SIDE OF THE THIRD PLATE.

- ५ वहमिर्ब्दसुधादत्ता राजभिस्समरादिभिः
 ६ यस्य यस्य यदाभूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदाकलं, स्वदत्तां
 ७ परदत्ताम्बा योहरेत वसुधरां । सविष्णां कृमि-
 ८ भू ला पितृभिस्सह पच्यते ॥

Brief translation

From prosperous beautifies by all weather like the heaven and victorious Kalinga city by the worship of the lotus feet of Chandrachudāmani, God Gokarneswara, situated on the graceful peaks of Mahandragiri, the cause of Creation of the whole Universe, moveables and immovables, sinless, victorious in many fights, revered by all vassals, adorned with stainless renown, destroyer of enemy, adorned with very many good qualities, like Justice Sevaite, a devotee of parents, offspring of Ganga Dynasty, Maharaja Sri Devendra Varma's son, Sri Ananta Varma gifted Chandicharan the village, on the solar eclipse day, obtained by Vishnu Bhatta, son of Harischandra Bhatta of Kaundinyasa Gotra. At that time, the Vijaya Era that was in vogue in Ganga Dynasty was three hundred years. That was written by the minister with the approval of the Rajah. It was inscribed by Akhyasolinajaya. Vyāsagitā gives proof to it.

MAS'UDI'S ACCOUNT OF THE PESDADIAN KINGS

By

THE LATE DR. SIR JIVANJI JAMSHEDJEE MODI, K.T., LL.D.

I

INTRODUCTION

The object of this paper is to give an account of king Kayômars and his successors in the Pêsdâdian dynasty of Persia, as narrated by Mas'ûdi in his 'Kitâb-i Murûj az-Zahab va Ma'âdin al-Jauhar,' *i.e.*, "the Book of the Meadows of Gold and the Mines of Jewels." In my references and version, I follow the text and the French translation of the work by C. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille (1861-1877).

It is in the twenty-first chapter of his work that Mas'ûdi first speaks of Zarathustra at some length. The chapter is headed: "An account of the first kings of Persia. A résumé of their history and of their rule," ذکر ملوك الفرس الاولى و جمل اخبارهم و سیرهم. Mas'ûdi speaks, in the very beginning of this chapter, about the custom of the Persians to preserve their genealogy.

I first give the full text of Mas'ûdi, then my translation based on the French version of Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille. I will also add some observations of mine on Mas'ûdi's text.

II

MAS'UDI'S TEXT

ذكر ملوك الفرس الاولى وجمل اخبارهم وسيرهم

قال المسعودي الفرس تخبر مع اختلاف اراءها و بعد اوطانها
 و تباينها في ديارها وما زمنتها انفسها من حفظ انسابها ينقل
 ذلك بايق عن حاضر و صغير عن كبير ان اول ملوكهم كيورث
 ثم تسازعوا فيه فنهم من زعم انه ابن آدم وهو الاصغر من
 ولده و منهم من زعم و هم الاقلون عددا انه اصل النسل
 و ينبع الذرء وقد ذهبت طایفة منهم ان كيورث هو
 امييم بن لاود بن ارم بن سام بن نوح لان اميما هو اول من
 حل بفارس من ولد نوح وكان كيورث ينزل بفارس والفرس
 لا تعرف طوفان نوح والقوم الذين كانوا بين آدم و نوح
 عليهم السلام كانت لسانهم سريانية ولم يكن عليهم ملك
 بل كانوا في مسكن واحد والله اعلم بذلك وكان كيورث اكبر
 اهل عصره والمقدم فيهم وكان السبب الذي دعا اهل ذلك
 العصر الى اقامة ملك و نصب رئيس انهم رأوا اكثرا الناس قد
 جبلاوا على التباغي والحسد والظلم والعدوان ورأوا فيهم
 الشرير لا يصلحه الا الرهبة ثم ماملوا احوال الخلقة و تصرف
 شأن الجسم و صور الانسان الحساس الدرارك فرأوا الجسم في بنيته
 و كونه قد رُتب بجوانس تودى الى معنى هو غيرها يوردها

و يصدرها ويميزها تورده اليه مع اختلافها في مداركها وهو
 معنى في القلب فرأوا صلاح الجسم بتدبيره فتي فسد مدبره
 فسد سائره ولم تظهر افعاله المتقدمة المحكمة فلما رأت هذا
 العالم الصغير الذي هو جسد الانسان المردى لا تستقيم
 اموره ولا تتنظم احواله الا باستقامة الرئيس الذي قدمنا
 ذكره وعلموا ان الناس لا يستقيمون الا بعلك ينصفهم
 و يوجب العدل فيهم وينفذ الاحكام على حسب ما يوجبه
 العقل بينهم فساروا الى كيورث بن لاود و عرقوه ب حاجتهم
 الى ملك و قيم يعدل فيهم وقالوا انت افضلنا واشرفنا و كبيرنا
 وبقية ابينا وليس في العصر من يوازيك فاضم " امرنا اليك وكن
 القائم فينا فاما نسمعك و نطيعك و نحبسك الى كل ماترام
 فاجابهم الى ما دعوه اليه و استوثيق منهم بتأكيد العهد
 والمواثيق على السمع والطاعة وترك الخلاف عليه فلما وضع
 التاج على رأسه وكان اول من رتب التاج على رأسه من اهل
 الارض قام خطيبا و قال ان النعم لا تدوم الا بالشكر وانا نحمد
 الله على ايادي و نشكّر على نعمه و نرغب اليه في مزيد
 و نسئله المعاونه على ما دفعنا اليه و حسن المهدایة الى العقل
 الذي يجمع الشمل ويصنف العيش فتفوا بالعدل منا و انصفوا
 من افسكم نور دكم الى افضل ما في همتكم واستغفر الله لى
 ولكم فلم يزل كيورث قائما بالامر في حسن السيرة يحكم الناس

بالعدل والبلاد آمنة والامة ساكنة طول مده ولهن في وضع
 الثاج على الراس اسرار يذكرونها اعرضنا عن ذكرها اذ كنا
 قد اتينا على ذلك في كتابنا اخبار الزمان والاوسيط وذكروا ان
 كيمورث هو اول من امر بالسكون عند الطعام لتأخذ الطبيعة
 بقسطها فصلح البدن بما يرد اليه من الغذاء وتسكن النفس
 عند ذلك فتدبر لكل عضو من الاعضاء تدبرا يودى الى ما
 فيه صلاح الجسم من اخذ صفو الطعام فيكون الذي يرد الى
 الكبد وغيره من الاعضاء القابلة للغذاء ما يناسبها وما فيه
 صلاحها وان الانسان متى شغل عن طعامه بضرب من
 الضروب انصرف قسط من التدبير وجزء من التغذى الى
 حيث انصباب البهمة ووقوع الاشتراك فاضر ذلك بالنفس
 الحيوانية والقوى الانسانية واداكا ان ذلك دائما ادى ذلك الى
 مفارقة النفس الناطقة المميزة الفكرية لهذا الجسد المردي وفي
 ذلك ترك الحكمة وخروج عن الصواب ولهن في هذا الباب سرّ
 لطيف من اسرار السبب الذي بين النفس والجسم ليس هذا
 الكتاب موضعها وقد اتينا على ذكرها في كتابنا سرّ الحياة وفي
 كتاب الزلف عند ذكرنا للنفس الناطقة والنفس الفضبية
 والنفس الحسية والنفس الشهوانية وما قال الناس في ذلك
 من تقدّم وتأخر من الفلاسفة وغيرهم وقد توزع في مقدار
 عمر كيمورث فن الناس من رأى ان عمره كان الف سنة وقيل

دون ذلك و لمجوس في كيومرث خطب طويل في انه مبدأ
 النسل و انه نبت مثل ثبات الارض وهو الرياس هو وزوجته
 و هما شابه ومنشأه وغير ذلك مما يفتح ابراده وما كان من
 خبره مع ابليس و قاتله اياه وكانت ينزل اصطخر فارس وكان
 ملكه اربعين سنة و قيل اقل من ذلك ثم ملك بعده اوشننج
 بن فروال بن سياملك بن يرنيق بن كيومرث الملك وكان
 اوشننج ينزل الهند وكان ملكه اربعين سنة و قيل اقل من
 ذلك وقد توزع فيه فنهم من رأى انه ان لكيومرث بن آدم
 و منهم من رأى انه ولد الملك الماضي ثم ملك بعده طهمورث
 آبن فوجها بن ارشند بن اوشننج وكان ينزل سايدر و ظهر
 في سنة من ملكه رجل يقال له بوداسف احدث مذهب
 الصابية و قيل فيهم ان معالي الشرف الكامل والصلاح الشامل
 و معدن الحياة في هذا السقف المرفوع وان الكواكب هي
 المدبرات والواردات والصادرات وهي التي في بروزها من افلاتها
 و قطعها مسافاتها و اصالتها ب نقطة و انصافها على نقطة سبب
 ما يكون في العالم من الآثار من امتداد الاعمار و قصرها و تركيب
 البساط و ابساط المركبات و تتميم الصور و ظهور المياه و غلظتها
 وفي النجوم السيارة وفي افلاتها التدبير الاعظم وغير ذلك
 مما يخرج وصفه عن حد الاختصار والايجاز فاجتذب جماعة
 من ذوى الفعل في الاراء فيقال ان هذا الرجل اول من اظهر

مذهب الصابية من الحرانيين والكيمرايين وهذا النوع من
 الصابية مبانيون للحرانيين في نحلتهم وديارهم بيت بلاد واسط
 والبصرة من ارض العراق نحو الباطئ والاجام فكان ملك
 طهمورث الى ان هلك ثالثين سنة وقيل غير ذلك ثم ملك
 اخوه جم وكان ينزل بفارس وقيل انه كان في زمانه طوفان
 وذهب كثير من الناس ان النيروز في زمانه احدث وفي ملكه
 رسم على حسب ما نورده فيما يرد من هذا الكتاب كذلك ذكر
 ابو عبيدة معمر بن المتن عن عمر المعروف بكسرى وكان هذا
 الرجل من اشتهر بعلم فارس و اخبار ملوكها حتى لقب بعمر
 كسرى فكان ملك جم الى ان هلك ست مائة سنة وقيل
 سبعمائة سنة وستة اشهر واحدث في الارض انواعا من
 الصناع والابنية والمهن وادعى الربوبية ثم ملك بعده
 بيوراسب بن اروادسب بن ريد وان بن هاباس بن طاح بن
 فروال بن سياملك بن برس بن كيومرث وهو الدهاوك وقد
 عربت اسماً وهم جميعاً فسراه قوم من العرب الفحّاك وسراه قوم
 بهراسف وليس هو كذلك واما هو على ما وصفنا بيوراسب
 وصح في التاريخ ان جم الملك من قبل هؤلاء قُتِل وقد تنوّزع في
 نسبه فمن الناس من يقول انه من الفرس ومنهم من قال انه
 من العرب وزعمت الفرس انه منها وانه كان ساحرا وانه ملك
 الاقاليم السبعة وان ملكه كان الف سنة وبغي في الارض وتمدد

وللفرس فيه حديث طويل و تزعم انه مقيد مغلل بالحديد
 في جبل دُبناوند بين الرى و طبرستان وقد ذكرته شعر آه
 العرب من تقدم و تأخر وقد افتخر ابو نواس به و زعم انه
 من اليمن لأن ابا نواس مولى لسعد العشيرة من اليمن فقال
 وكان منا الضحاك يعبده الحائل والوحش في مساورها
 ثم ملك بعده افريیدون بن انقیاد بن جم ملك الاقاليم السبعة
 واخذ بیوراسب فقيده في جبل دبناوند على حسب ما ذكرنا
 وقد ذهب كثير من الفرس و من عنى باخبارهم مثل عمر كسرى
 وغيره ان افريیدون جعل هذا اليوم الذي قيد فيه الضحاك
 عيدها له و سماه المهرجان على حسب ما تورده بعد هذا
 الموضع من هذا الكتاب وما قبل في ذلك وكان دار مملكة افريیدون
 بابل وهذا الاقليم مضاف الى قرية من قرى هذه الاقاليم يقال
 لها بابل على شاطئ نهر من انهار الفرات بارض العراق على ساعة
 من المدينة المعروفة بجسر بابل و نهر الفرس و اليه تضاف الثياب
 الترسية وفي هذه القرية جب يعرف بجت دانیال النبي عم
 يقصده النصارى واليهود في اوقات من السنة في اعياد لهم
 و اذا مت الانسان على هذه القرية تبين له فيها اثار عظيمة من
 ردم و هدم و بنيان قد صارت كالرواى و ذهب كثير من الناس
 الى ان بها هاروت و هاروت و هما الملكان المذكوران في القرآن على
 حسب ما اقتضى الله تعالى من تسمية هذه القرية ببابل فكان

ملك افريدون خمسمايه سنة و قيل اقل من ذلك و اكثر و قسم
الارض بين ولده الشلثة وقد قال في ذلك بعض الشعراء من
سلف من ابناء الفرس بعد الاسلام يذكر ولد افريدون
الثلثة

و قسمنا ملکنا في دهرنا قسمة الملح على ظهر الوضم
فجعلنا الشام والروم الى مغرب الى لشمس العطريف سلم
ولطروح جعل الترك له فيبلاد الترك بحوبها برغم
ولايرات جعلنا عنوة فارس الملك و فزنا بالينعم
و للناس فيها ذكرنا خطب طويل و ان بلاد بابل اضيفت الى
ولد افريدون وهو ايرج و قتلته اخوه في حياة افريدون
وهلك ونم بخلص له الملك فيعد في الملوك و سنذكر فيها يرد
من هذا الكتاب كيفية اضافة هذا الاقليم الى ايرج و اسقاطهم
الجيم وجعلهم النون بدلا منها فيقال ايران شهر و الشهر
الملك نم ملك بعد افريدون منوشهر بن ايران بن افريدون
على حسب ما ذكرنا من التنازع في نسبة و الحاقه بايرج بن
افريدون و كان ملکه عشرين سنة و كان ينزل ببابل و قيل ان
في زمانه كان موسى بن عمروان و يوشع بن نون عليهما السلام
و كان منوشهر خروب مع عميه اللذان قتلا اباه و هما طوح وسلم
و قد اتينا على ذكر حروبهم فيما سلف من كتبنا ثم ملك بعد
منوشهر سهم بن ابان بن انصياد بن نوذر بن منوشهر فنزل

بابل و ملک ستین سنة و قيل اكثرا من ذلك و كانت له حروب
 كثيرة و سير و سياسات كثيرة قد اتينا على ذكرها في كتاب
 اخبار الزمان ثم ملك بعده فراسيا بـ بن باسir بن راي او سن
 بن يورك بن ساقيا سبـ بن رسـبـ بن نوحـ بن دورـ شـرينـ
 بن طـوحـ بن اـفـريـدـونـ وـكانـ مـولـدـ فـرـاسـيـاـ بـ بـبـلـادـ التـرـكـ
 فـلـذـلـكـ غـلـطـ منـ غـلـطـ منـ اـصـحـابـ الـكـتـبـ وـ التـصـنـيـفـاتـ فيـ التـارـيخـ
 وـغـيرـهـ فـزـعـ اـنـهـ تـرـكـيـ وـكـانـ مـلـكـهـ عـلـىـ مـاـ غـلـبـ عـلـيـهـ مـنـ الـبـلـادـ
 اـئـمـيـ عـشـرـ سـنـةـ وـعـمـرـهـ عـنـدـ كـثـيـرـ مـنـ النـاسـ اـرـبـعـمـائـةـ سـنـةـ وـفـيـ
 اـئـمـيـ عـشـرـ سـنـةـ خـلـتـ مـنـ مـلـكـهـ ظـهـرـ عـلـيـهـ زـوـبـنـ بـهـاـسـفـ بـنـ
 كـجـهـوـرـ بـنـ هـرـاسـفـ بـنـ رـايـدـ نـجـ بـنـ رـعـ بـنـ باـسـirـ بـنـ نـوـذـرـ بـنـ
 مـنـوـشـهـ مـلـكـ فـهـزـمـ وـقـتـلـ اـصـحـابـهـ بـعـدـ حـرـوبـ كـثـيـرـةـ وـعـمـرـ
 مـاـ خـرـبـهـ فـرـاسـيـاـ وـكـيـفـيـةـ قـتـلـهـ وـحـرـوبـهـ وـمـاـ كـانـ بـيـنـ الـفـرـسـ
 وـالـتـرـكـ مـنـ الـحـرـوبـ وـالـغـارـاتـ وـمـاـ كـانـ مـنـ قـتـلـ سـيـاـوـخـنـ وـخـبـرـ
 رـسـمـ بـنـ دـسـتـانـ فـهـذـاـ كـلـهـ مـوـجـودـ مـشـرـوـحـ فـيـ الـكـتـابـ الـمـتـرـجـمـ
 بـكـتـابـ السـكـيـسـرـانـ تـرـجـمـهـ اـبـنـ المـقـعـنـ مـنـ الـفـارـسـيـةـ الـأـوـلـىـ الـىـ
 الـعـرـبـيـةـ وـفـيـ خـبـرـ اـسـفـنـدـيـارـ بـنـ بـسـتـافـ بـنـ بـهـرـاسـفـ وـقـتـلـ
 رـسـمـ بـنـ دـسـتـانـ لـهـ وـمـاـ كـانـ مـنـ قـتـلـ بـهـمـنـ بـنـ اـسـفـنـدـيـارـ لـرـسـمـ
 وـغـيرـ ذـلـكـ مـنـ عـجـائبـ الـفـرـسـ الـأـوـلـىـ وـاـخـبـارـهـ وـهـذـاـ كـتـابـ
 تـعـظـيمـهـ الـفـرـسـ لـمـاـ قـدـ تـضـمـنـ خـبـرـ اـسـلـافـهـمـ وـسـيـرـ مـلـوكـهـمـ
 وـقـدـ اـتـيـنـاـ بـحـمـدـ اللـهـ عـلـىـ كـثـيـرـ هـنـ اـخـبـارـهـمـ فـيـهـ سـلـفـ مـنـ كـتـبـنـاـ

TRANSLATION

The Persians,
love of genealogy

"The Persians, who are divided in various creeds, driven away from the country of their birth or scattered in their native land, but much inclined to the preservation of their genealogy, which they carry on from generation to generation and from father to son, report that their first king was Kayômars.

Various views ab-
out Kayômars

"Some believe that Kayômars is the eldest son of Adam. Others, who form a minority, consider him to be the father of mankind and the beginner, i.e., the ancestor, of all the races. Others, after all, identify him with Omaim, اَمِيمٌ, son of Lâwed, لَوْد, or Lâwez, لَوْز, son of Aram, اَرَم, son of Sâm, سَام, son of Nôh نُوح. In reality Omaim was the first of the children of Nôh, who established himself in Persia, the country where Kayômars resided. The Persians reject the deluge of Nôh (Noah). They maintain that the people, who lived between Adam and Noah, spoke the Syriac language and that they did not obey any king although they dwelt in the same country. God knows the truth. Kayômars was thus only the first and the most powerful of his contemporaries.

The motive of
appointing Kayô-
mars as king

"This was the motive which made the very early Persians resolve to choose a king and to have a chief. They recognized that revolt, envy, tyranny and hatred were inborn in man and that fear alone could lead them to be good. Examining attentively the creation, the laws which regulated the human body, and man as a sensible and intelligent being, they saw, in the body so constituted, an equipage of understanding, destined to carry to a particular faculty the seat of which was in the heart, the

notions which it received and carried and set off again in spite of their diversity. It was to this faculty that the body should salute. If it perished, all the rest would perish with it, and the force and harmony of the organism would be destroyed. They understood that if the world in miniature, that is to say, the terrestrial and mortal body, should salute this superior faculty, society could, in the same way, exist only under the shield of a king who guided it and imposed upon it the respect for justice and obedience to the laws dictated by reason.

"They then went to find out Kayômars, son of Lawed, and placed before him the necessity for them to have a just king and said to him : ' You are the greatest and the noblest amongst us; you are the last offspring of our common father and you have no equal in this century. Take the direction of our affairs in your hands and be our chief ; we promise in return respect and obedience to you and absolute submission to your orders.' Kayômars, acceding to their request, made them swear with the most solemn oath that they would obey him and renounce every attempt at revolt. After having placed the crown over his head, and it was he who introduced this usage among men, he addressed to them the following discourse : ' The duration of good fortune depends upon the thankfulness which it inspires. Let us glorify God, thank Him for His favours and pray that He may increase these favours. Let us implore His aid in the way which He has laid down. May His holy will accord to us the intelligence which makes order and harmony the law in the world. Have confidence in our justice, observe the laws of equity and we will lead you towards the glorious aim which you aspire to reach. May God have mercy on me and you ! '

"Kayômars constantly associated with his authority the purest virtue, and his justice assured the repose and happiness of his subject during his reign. The Persians attach a mysterious significance to the custom of putting on the crown, which we pass over here in silence, because we have spoken of it in our Historical Annals and in our middle¹ History.

Holding silence at meals

"They say that Kayômars was the first to prescribe silence during the meals. He said that nature thus receives the share which is due to it; the body profits by the nourishment which it receives. The vital spirits then recover calm, every limb is apt to contribute, by the absorption of the alimentary juices, to the well-being and health of the body; the liver and all the organs of the digestive apparatus receive their nourishment, and all the functions of life become regular. On the contrary, if man is distracted by some preoccupation when he eats, the digestion is disturbed, the nourishment is distributed unequally and there results from it a mingling and a trouble very prejudicial to the vital humours and to health. In the long run this disorder must lead to a disruption between the thinking and reasoning faculty and the human body; the thought abandons the body and it becomes incapable of conducting itself with discernment. Besides this, the Persians have, on the relations which unite the soul to the body, some mysterious theories which cannot find place in this book. We have described them elsewhere in our work entitled 'The Secret of Life' and in our book of 'Degrees,' كتاب الدرجات, by distinguishing the speaking soul from the soul which

1. الـ. Perhaps what is meant is general history or history of the middle ages.

is irritable, sensitive, of intense longings, etc. We have, in short, cited the opinions of all the philosophers, ancient or modern, as to this question.

The duration of Kayômars's life. Some believe that he lived a thousand years; others say less. The Magi have long legends relating to this king, whom they consider to be the father of mankind. They say that he germinated, he and his wife, in the form of a plant named *riyâs*, ریس, and that they were named *Sâbah*, شابه, and *Mansâbah*, مشابه. They give, on this subject, other accounts which one would blush to repeat; for example, the recital of his fight with the devil, etc. Kayômars lived in the city of Istakhr in Fârs and ruled for forty years or a little less.

"Kayômars's successor was Aûshanj, اوشنج, (Hôsang), son of Farvâl, فروال, (Fravâk), son of Siyâmak, سیامک, son of Yarniq, يرنق, son of Kayômars. Aûshanj resided in India and ruled for forty years or a shorter period. Opinions are divided as regards this king. Some say that he was the brother of Kayômars, son of Adam, and others take him to be the son of Kayômars.

"He Aûshanj handed over the crown to Tahmurath, تهمورث, son of Nûabajahân, نوچان, Tahmurath and Bûdasf in his reign ارخشند, (Vivangahân), son of Arfakhsad, ارفخشد, son of Aûshanj. Tahmurath lived in Sâbur, سابر. In his reign, there appeared Bûdasf, بوداسف¹, founder of the Sabean religion (الصابئي). He announced that the source of all nobility, the absolute good,

1. Another MS. has Bivarasf, بیوراسف.

and the principle of life were in the heavens, and that the stars, whilst rising or disappearing, regulated the destinies of the world. The coming of a star out of its orb, its motion in space, its junction or separation from the stars at a point of the general orbit, determined, according to Bûdasf, all the events of this world, the duration of life, the composition or dispersion of primordial elements, the perfection of exterior forms, the appearance or absorption of the seas. In short, it was in the planets and their orbs that he placed the supreme motive power. By these doctrines and even others which we omit in order to avoid length of description, he beguiled a large number of weak minds. Bûdasf is considered the author of Sabæanism, professed by the Harranians and the Kimerians (Harrانيون وال Kimberانيون). However, the Kimerians founded in Sabæanism a sect which differed from that of the Harranians. They lived between Wâsit (واسط) and Basrah in Irâk, not far from fish-ponds and swamps.

" After having ruled for thirty years Tahmurath died and was succeeded by his brother Jam, Jamsid جم, who resided in Fârs. A tradition assigns the deluge, طوفان, to this period. According to another very reliable tradition, it was Jam who instituted the Nirûz, نیروز, (Nôrûz) and its ceremonies on which we shall have occasion to revert. Such is the opinion of Abu Obeidah Mâmer, son of Al-Motanni, ابو عبیدة مهر بن امتنى, who relies on the evidence of Omar-Kasrâ, عمر کسری, a person who owes his surname of Omar-Kasrâ to his knowledge of Persia and of its kings. Jam died after a reign of six or seven hundred years and six months. He invented various arts, built numerous monuments, discovered novel processes and wished to be adored as a god.

" Jam was succeeded by Bivarasp, son of Arwad-
 asp¹, بیورااسب بن ارواداسپ, son of Ridwān,
 Bivarasp son of Hābās, son of Tāh, son of
 Farwāl, son of Siyāmāk, son of Bars,
 son of Kayōmarth. He is also named Dahāk, a name
 which has been completely modified and which many
 Arabs pronounce Ad-Dahhāk. Others name him
 Bohrasf, بهراسف, which is an error. His correct name
 is Bivarasp, بیورااسب, as we have adopted it. The histo-
 rians agree in saying that Jam was killed at his command.
 The origin of Bivarasp is differently explained. Some
 believe that he was of Persian race, others say that he was
 of the Arab race. This latter opinion is accepted by the
 Persians. They say that Bivarasp was a magician who
 made himself master of the seven regions, that he ruled for
 a thousand years and desolated the earth by his tyranny
 and cruel acts. The legends of Persia give long details of
 this king and report that he is fastened by iron chains
 on the mountain of Donbāvand, دنبادون, between Ray
 and Tabaristān. Bivarasp is also mentioned by certain
 Arab poets, ancient and modern, among others by Abū
 Nawās, ابو نواس, who, as the freedman of Sa'ad al-'Asīrah,
 سعد العشيرة, the Yamanite, boasts that Dahhāk was a
 native of Yaman. Here is the passage:—‘One of us was
 Ad-Dahhāk whom the camels and the wild beasts served
 in the midst of their pastures.’

" Afaridūn, افریدون son of Ankiyād, اقیاد, son of Jam,
 king of the seven regions, succeeded
 Faridūn Bivarasp. It was Afaridūn who seized
 Bivarasp and enchainèd him on the
 mount Donbāvand as we will just state. According to the

1. The editor of the text give ارونداشف as a variant of
 ارواداسپ.

opinion of the Persians or of those who have studied their history like Omar-Kasrà and other authors, Afaridûn instituted a feast to celebrate the anniversary of Dahhâk's captivity. It is named Mehrajân, as we will say later on, whilst citing different traditions on this subject. The capital of Afaridûn was Bâbel, بابل. The country which bears this name owes it to the village of Bâbel situated on one of the canals (نهر) of the Euphrates, فرات, (Farât), an hour's march from the village named the Bridge of Bâbel, جسر بابل, and from the Nahr-en-Ners, نرس, where they manufacture the clothes called Narsiyeh, نرسیه. In the same village are found the wells of the prophet Daniel, دانیال, which the Christians and the Jews come to visit on certain annual feasts. The traveller notices in the neighbourhood some heaps of ruins and some debris of buildings in the form of mounds. Many persons believe that under these ruins are hidden the two angels Hârût and Mârût, mentioned in the Koran, according to the explanation which the divine book gives of the name of Bâbel. Afaridûn ruled for five hundred years and the period of his reign has been exaggerated or reduced by authors. He apportioned his dominions among his three sons. A poet of Persian descent, who lived after the preaching of Islam, whilst speaking of the three sons of Afaridûn, says:

“We have, in our age, divided our kingdom just as meat is divided on the stall.

We have ceded the country of Rûm, روم, and Syria, شام, upto the West to the valiant Salm.

To Tûh, طوح, we have given the Turks who obey with reluctance.

For Irân, ایران, we have conquered the kingdom of Persia, فارس, and we have loaded him with our favours'.

"The preceding facts have raised some discussions. People believe, for example, that the country of Bâbel was given to Iraj, ایرج, son of Afaridûn, but having been killed by one of his brothers, during the life-time of Afaridûn, Iraj could not reign and must not be counted in the list of kings. We will relate, later on, the circumstances which prove that this country belonged to Iraj, and we will explain how usage having replaced the letter *jîm*, جم, by a *nün*, نون, people pronounced Irân-sahr, ایران شهر; the word sahr, شهر, signifies kingdom, ملک.

"Afaridûn was succeeded by Manûsahr, منوشهر, son of Irân, son of Afaridûn, or, according to a variant which we have explained elsewhere, son of Iraj, son of Afaridûn. He reigned at Bâbel for twenty years and was a contemporary (في زمانه) of Moses, son of Amrân, عمران, and of Yûs'a, يوشع (Joshua), son of Nûn, نون. As to the battles which he had to wage with his two uncles, Tûh and Salm, the murderers of his father (frère ?), our preceding works may be consulted.

"The successor of Manûsahr was Sahm, سام, son of Abân, ابان, son of Ankiyâd, اقیاد, son of Nûzar (نوزر), son of Manûsahr. Sahm ruled at Bâbel for sixty years or more. We have mentioned, in our historical Annals, the long wars, the life and the rule of this king.

"The throne was then occupied by Farâsiyâb, فراسیاب, son of Bâsîr, بسیر, son of Rây Arsan, رای ارسن, son of Yûrak, یورک, son of Sânyâsp, سانیاسب, son of Rasasp, رسپ, son of Nûh, son of Dûrsirîn, دورشین, son of Tûh, son of Afarîdûn, افراطون, which led to the mistaken statement on the part of a writer, author of chronicles and of other works, that he was of Turkish descent. Farâsiyâb ruled the provinces which he had conquered for twelve years, and there they claimed that he lived for four hundred years.

"In the twelfth year of his reign, he was attacked by Zû, ذو, son of Behâsf, بهاسف, son of Kamjauhar, کجوهار, son of Harâsf, هراسف, son of Râydanj, رایدانج, son of Ro'a, روأ, son of Bâsîr, بسیر, son of Nûzar, نوزر, son of king Manûsahr, منوشهر. After a desperate fight, Zû faced his rival, killed his partisans and remedied the devastations caused by Farâsiyâb.

"The account of these and other events concerning Ibn al-Moqaffâ's^{*} book on the various episodes of those times the expeditions and reciprocal invasions of the Persians and the Turks, the death of Siyâvakhsh, and the story of Rustam, son of Dastân¹, are described in detail in the book entitled *Sakîsarân* (السكندران), translated from the ancient dialect of Persia (الفارسية الاول), i.e., Pahlavi, into Arabic by Ibn al-Moqaffâ'. In the same work is found the story of Asfandiyâr, son of Bostâsf

1. This was another name of Zâl.

2. The editors are doubtful as regards this name.

(Gustâsp), son of Bohrâsf (Lohrâsp), who was killed by Rustam, the combat in which Rustam perishes at the hand of Bahman, son of Asfandiyâr, and some other marvellous episodes of the primitive history of Persia. The Persians attach great value to this book, on account of the information which it furnishes as to the history of their kings and the morals of their ancestors."

III

MY OBSERVATIONS

I now give my observations and notes on Mas'ûdi's text.

Mas'ûdi speaks, at the very outset of his account of the Persians, that they were desirous to trace their genealogy, not only the Persians of Persia, but also those who had left the country. It is possible that, in his wanderings, Mas'ûdi might have come into contact with the Zoroastrians of India and learnt from them that they, especially the priestly class, traced their descent from the past fore-fathers of several generations. As examples of this custom of the priests preserving their genealogies, I may mention the pedigree given by the scribes of two MSS. written in India.

1) In the MS. of the Persian 'Bahman-nâma' copied by Rânâ Jesang,¹ the scribe traces his ancestral descent as follows:—"Herbad Rânâ, son of Herbad Jesang, son of Herbad Dâdâ from the family stock of Mabad Hormazdyâr, (son of) Herbad Râmyâr, in the city of Naosari, in the time of Mahmûd Sâh Sultân bin Latif Khân, the nephew of Bahadûr Sâh Sultân..."

1. See my 'Parsis at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana' ('Journal of the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society', Vol. XXI, pp. 239-240, and the separate print, pp. 170-171.)

2) In the Pahlavi 'Ardâ Virâf' of Dastur Hoshangji and Dr. Haug, (1872), p. 266, the scribe, Pêsyôtan Râm, traces his descent from his eighth ancestor Hôrmazdyâr Râmyâr as follows:—"...written by me, 'the servant of the religion, the herbad's son, the teacher Pêsyôtan, son of Râm, son of Kamdin, son of Sahriyâr, [son of Néryôsang, son of Sâh-mart, son of Sahriyâr,]¹ son of Bahrâm, son of the mîbad Hôrmazdyâr, son of the herbad Ramyâr; and from the handwriting of the herbad Rustam, son of Mihrbân.'"

The colophons of old Parsi MSS. supply many historical materials, both as regards individuals as well as the whole community.²

Mas'ûdi presents to us various views about Kayômars. Some held him to be the

Kayômars : was he the very first man or the first king of Persia ?

Kayômars. Some held him to be the very first man, the father of mankind, and others considered him to be descended from Nôh. Mas'ûdi's own view is this that "Kayômars was only the *first* and the most powerful of his contemporaries." I think this to be the correct view according to the Parsi books.

The view as summed up by me, in 1892, from Parsi books

1. These three names, omitted by mistake in the translation, are inserted from the Pahlavi text on p. 246.—Editor.

2. It was owing to the importance of the colophons of old MSS. that the Trustees of the Parsi Punchayet of Bombay had, at my humble suggestion, kindly engaged Ervad Noshervan Barjorji Desai to collect the colophons of MSS. in some of the Parsi libraries of India, and Dr. Jamshed Manekji Unwala those of the MSS. in the libraries of Europe. Similarly, the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, kindly accepting my suggestion, had directed an inspection of the MSS. of some private Parsi libraries of Gujarat, engaging Ervad Jamshed C. Katrak for the work.

is as follows¹ :—

“જામસિદ નું પેહલવેહલો ભલો ધરાની હતો કે જેણે અહુરમજ્ઞાની રૂપરીન ચરત પ્રમાણે પેહલવેહલો ભલો ધરાની હતો કે જેણે અહુરમજ્ઞાની શિખામણો પેહેલાં સાંકણી અને કેનીથી ધરાન દેશના ભલા બોણાની નસલ ઉતરી છે.....અવસ્તામાં જણુંવા પ્રમાણે ભુનદેહેશમાં પણ સથળ કેચાની પાદશાહોની વંશાવળી એનાથી શરૂ થયેલી જણુંવાની છે. રીરદ્વાસી પોતાનું શાહીનાસું પણ એ પાદશાહી શરૂ કરે છે.....દસાતીરમાં ગયોમર્દીને ‘ફરાઝીનસાર’ કહ્યો છે અને તને ‘ફરપુટે યાસાન આનામ’ એથે “યાસાન આનામનો છાકરો” કહ્યો છે.....દીનકર્દ ગયોમર્દીને પેહલવેહલો દીન લાવનાર કહે છે.”

Whilst speaking of the reign of Jamsid, Mas'ûdî Did the ancient Persians believe in the Deluge of Noah ? says that a tradition places the Deluge in his time (Une tradition place le déluge à cette époque). I think that the Parsi books do not speak of the Deluge and

Mas'ûdî is right when he says, at the very commencement of his account of the ancient Persians, that the Persians reject the Deluge of Nôh (Noah) (الفرس لا تعرف طوفان نوح). I know that even some Parsi scholars see, in the account of Jamsid (Yima Khshaêta) in the second chapter of the Vandidâd, a reference to the great Deluge ; but I do not think so. I had the pleasure of reading a paper on king Jamsid, before the eighth Oriental Conference at Stockholm in 1889, and I had submitted that view, at the time. I have treated the question at some length in my prize-essay on Jamsid written in 1882, and tried to show that the account of the second chapter of the Vandidâd does not refer to any protection against a deluge but against a rigid winter.²

1. In my 'Gujarati Dictionary of Avestan Proper Names', p. 74.

2. See my Gujarati essay : 'Jamsid, Hom and Fire', p. 42 et seq.

Mas'ûdi attributes to Kayômars the introduction of the custom of holding silence at meals. Mas'ûdi's reference to the Parsi custom of holding silence at meals The custom was pretty generally followed by the Parsis of India till about fifty years ago. It is followed, even now, by the Parsi priests who officiate in the inner circle of the liturgy. This custom is spoken of as that of "holding *bâj* at meals". If they have to speak unavoidably whilst taking their meals, they mutter with compressed lips, for which the Gujarati expression is: *bâj mâ bolucîn*, i.e., "to mutter whilst holding grace." For further particulars on the subject of holding the *bâj*, which is a kind of recitation of 'grace' before meals, I refer my readers to the subject treated in my 'Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsis,' (pp. 354-376). The scientific reason for holding silence whilst eating as given by some medical men is almost the same as that advanced by Mas'ûdi, that the circulation of blood at the time of meals must all be directed to the process of digestion and must not be detracted, by thinking, to the brain.

Tabarî also refers to this custom and says that it originated with a famine in Persia in the time of Tahmuras.

Mas'ûdi thus explains the birth of Kayômars:—"They say that he germinated, he and his wife, in the form of a plant named *riyâs*." This view is expressed in the Bundahîsn, Ch. XV,¹ according to

The origin of Kayômars as the first man

1. See my Gujarati translation of the Bundahîsn, p. 59; see also my paper 'The Germ of the Evolution Theory in old Iranian literature', read before the Anthropological Section of the tenth Indian Science Congress held at Lucknow in January 1923. ('Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay', Vol. XII, No. 8, pp. 1003-1014; my 'Anthropological Papers,' Part IV, pp. 30-41.)

which, "Gayômart emitted the seed on passing away; they filtered the seed by means of the light of the sun; Nêryôsang guarded two parts of the seed and Spendarmat accepted one part, and for forty years it remained within the earth. On the completion of forty years, Masi and Masyani grew up from the earth."

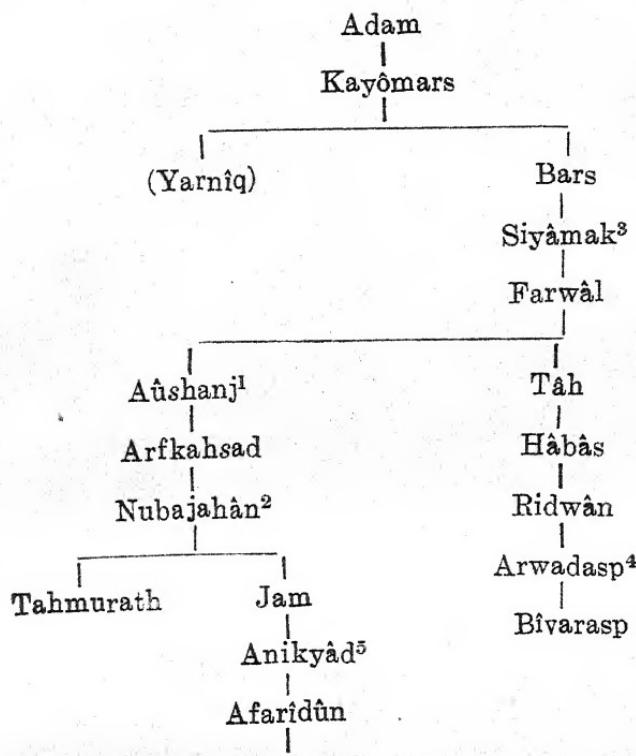
The *Sâbah*, *«lî*, and *Musâbah* referred to by *Mas'ûdî*, are Masi and Masyani, as pointed out by the French translators.

In his account of the progeny of *Kayômars*, *Mas'ûdî* says that there were "other accounts which one would blush to repeat." I think what he had in his mind is the account in the Pahlavi Bundahism, where we read :—"For spoke he, Masi to Masyani: 'When I see thy shame my desires arise.' Then Masyani spoke thus: 'Brother Masya! when I see thy great desire I am agitated'. Afterwards, it became their mutual wish that the satisfaction of their desires should be accomplished, and they reflected thus: 'Our duty even for those fifty years was this.'"

This is what some scientists would say, even now, from the scientific standpoint as regards the first rise and growth of mankind out of the animal creation.

Mas'ûdî gives various views as regards the origin of *Kayômars* but, in the end, seems to take him as the first historical or demi-historical or pre-historical king of Persia and then traces the descent of his successors. I give here a genealogical table of his descendants in the *Pêsdâdian* dynasty as prepared from the various statements of *Mas'ûdî*:—

1. See B. de Meynard's 'Maçoudî', Vol. II, pp. 110, 111, 113.



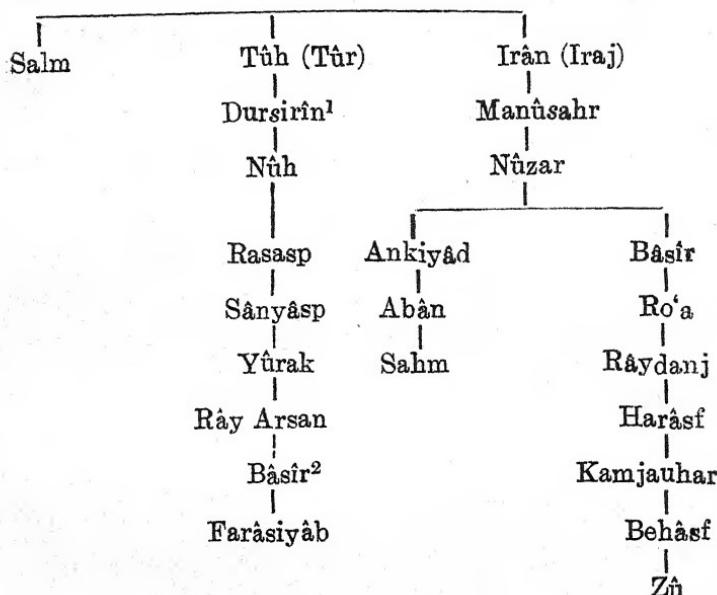
1. Some say that Aushanj (Hôsang) was Kayōmars' brother ; according to others, he was his son.

2. One MS. spells the name Yujahān (یوجان). Both these forms seem to be corrupted from the Avestan name Vivāhana (ویوانه‌ا).

3. In one place, Mas'ûdî speaks of Siyāmak as being the son of Yarniq (p. 110), in another as the son of Bars (p. 113). It seems that both 'Yarniq' and 'Bars' are derived from the same form. 'Yarniq', if written with a change of points may be read 'Barniq', and if transcribed in Pahlavi بَرْنِق it can be read 'Barus'.

4. In the Sâh-nâma the name is 'Mardâs', corrupted from 'Arwadasp'.

5. Corrupted from the Avesta 'Âthwya,' 'Âbtin' in the Sâh-nâma.



According to Mas'ûdî, Bûdasf, the founder of the Sabean sect, appeared in the reign of Tahmurath. He believed in the science of astrology, according to which the stars influenced the destiny of men. As noted by the editors of Mas'ûdî's text, one of the MSS. has the reading Bîvarasp instead of Bûdasf. But as we know that Bîvarasp flourished after the reign of Jam, Bûdasf must be a person other than Bîvarasp. The only person represented by other writers as appearing in the time of Tahmurâth was Ahriman in the form of a charger.

Mas'ûdî makes the following statements as regards Bîvarasp :

1. Corrupted from the Pahlavi Durâsarûn.

2. The name of Afrâsiyâb's father is 'Pasang' according to the Sâhi-nâma, which when written in Pahlavi characters, can with a little change be read 'Bâsîr.'

Bivarasp (a) He was called Dahâk by the Arabs. This name is traceable from the Avestan Azi-Dahâka.

(b) Jam was killed at his instigation. According to the Avestan Zamyâd Yast, 46, Jam was killed by his brother Spityûr (سپتیور). It seems that Bivarasp had made Spityûr his tool to kill Jam.

(c) The Persians derive his origin from a Persian ancestor, whilst the Arabs trace his descent from an Arab. The genealogical tree given above shows that Bivarasp was descended from the same stock as the other Pesdâdian kings.

(d) He was bound in chains on Mount Damâvand. The Pazand 'Âfrîn-i Haft Amesâpendân', whilst mentioning some of the mountains of Persia including Damâvand in the list, says that "the errant Bivarasp is enchain'd there" (Damâvand kôh kê dravand Bivarasp andar ô bast êstet, section 9).

According to the tradition, Bivarasp (Zahâk), bound there in chains by Faridûn, goes on licking the chains with his tongue, so that the chains are being thinned. When they become so thin as to break and set Zahâk free, a cock crows and the chains become thick again. It will so continue till the day of resurrection when the chain will break, and Zahâk becoming free will rule over the world for a day and a half.

Mas'ûdi refers to two feasts. The one which was inaugurated by Jamsid is still celebrated

*Two feasts
inaugurated by
Jam and Faridûn* by the Parsis of Bombay as the 'Jamsêdi Naorôz' and is also observed in Persia and Afghanistan. It was observed in India by the Moghul Emperors. It falls on the twenty-first of March, and from another point of view, it is the feast of the Vernal Equinox. Nizâmi refers to it in

his 'Sikandar-nâma'.¹

The other feast, inaugurated by Farîdûn, is named Mehrjân (مehr جان) by Mas'ûdî. It is the 'Meherangân' of the modern Parsis and is celebrated on the sixteenth day Meher of the seventh month Meher. It used to fall at the time of the Autumnal Equinox.²

Mas'ûdî has not referred to the feast (jasn) inaugurated by the Pêsdâdian king Hôsang to celebrate the discovery of Fire, known as the 'Jasn-i Sadah'.

From Mas'ûdî's account, we find that Kayômars had made Istakhr his capital. Hôsang had Capitals of the different kings. his residence in India, سندھ. Tahmurath lived in Sâbûr, سبور. Jamsid resided in Fars, فارس, Bivarasp or Dahâk was the native of Yaman, يمن.

Bâbel (Babylon) was the capital of Farîdûn, Manûsahr and Salm. It was Kay Kâus of the Kayânian dynasty who transferred his capital from Bâbel in Irâq to Balkh.

Years of reign of Pêsdâdian kings We find the following figures given by Mas'ûdî as the number of years of the reign of the Pêsdâdian kings:—

Kings	Years
Kayômarth	40
Hôsang	40
Tahmurath	30
Jam	600 to 700
Bivarasp	1000
Afarîdûn	500
Manûsahr	20
Sahm	60
Farâsiyâb	12

1. See my 'Glimpse into the Work of the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society during the last 100 years from a Parsi point of view', page 96. 2. For accounts of these two festivals, see my Essays in Gujarati: 'Jamséd and Jamsédi Naoroz' and 'Meher and Jasn-i Meherangan.'

A FEW NOTES ON THE PARSI HISTORY OF CAMBAY

By

THE LATE DR. SIR JIVANJI JAMSHEDJEE MODI, K.T., LL.D.

[For further particulars see: 1) Prof. S. H. Hodivala's two lectures on 'The Old Parsi Settlement of Cambay', 2) 'The Parsi Prakash', 3) 'A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsis', 4) 'Parsis at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rânâ'.]

A. C.

1090 The Parsis began to disperse from Sanjan to the different towns of Gujarat and amongst them to Cambay, about 1090 A. C. (See my 'Few Events in the Early History of the Parsis', p. 14).

1323 It seems that, in the fourteenth century, there
-24 was a prosperous Parsi Colony in Cambay with a Fire-temple. The well-known Iranian scribe Mihir-Âwân Kai-khosru wrote there, in this year, two copies of the Avesta-Pahlavi Vândidad and Yasna for a Beh-dîn merchant named Châhil Sangan.

1478 In the Rivâyats sent from Persia to the Parsis
-1553 of Hindustân, from 1478 to 1553 A. C., Cambay is especially mentioned among other towns, as the town where the Parsis lived. This shows that, from 1478 to 1553, Cambay (written Khambâyat) was a flourishing Parsi Colony. (See my 'Parsis at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rânâ', pp. 58-60, 'The Parsi Prakash', Vol. I, p. 6). In five cases the Zoroastrians of Cambay were chosen as messengers of those Rivâyats. (See B. B. Patel's

paper: 'A Brief Outline of some Controversial questions', etc., in the 'K. R. Cama Memorial Volume', edited by me, pp. 173-4).

- 1478 The first Rivâyat in which Cambay is mentioned is that of Nariman Hoshang. ('The Parsi Prakash', Vol. I, p. 6; 'Parsis at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rânâ', p. 58).
- 1486 The second Rivâyat of Nariman Hoshang. ('The Parsi Prakash', *ibid.*)
- 1511 An unnamed Rivâyat. ('The Parsi Prakash', I, p. 6; 'Parsis at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rânâ', p. 59).
- 1516 Rivâyat of Jasâ.
- 1527 Shâpûr Âsâ's Rivâyat. (*Ibid.* p. 60). Kâmâ Âsâ, a Beh-dîn of Cambay, brought the reply to questions. This reply still exists in the original in the Meherji Rânâ Library at Naosari.
- 1535 A stone Tower of Silence was built at Cambay. This is mentioned as a great event. Brick Towers existed long before this. Aspandyâr Yazd-yâr's Rivâyat. (*Ibid.* p. 60). In this Rivâyat the following Parsis are specially named: Âsâ Narsang, Nakhavâ Âsâ, Kâmâ Âsâ, Limbâ Kâmâ and Jivâ Khorshed. ('The Parsi Prakash', I, p. 8; Prof. Hodivala's paper on 'The Old Parsi Settlement of Cambay', in the Cama Institute Journal, No. 8).
- 1553 The Rivâyat of Kâus Kâmdîn contains the name of Cambay. (See 'Parsis at the Court of Akbar', p. 60).
- 1572 Akbar went from Ahmadâbâd to Cambay for the first time to see the Great Sea from there.

It is possible that he saw the Parsis there for the first time.

1575 At least a large portion, if not the whole of the
-83 Parsi Colony of Cambay, was destroyed by a Hindu named Kalyanrāy who was a 'mutsaddi', "clerk", some time between 1575 and 1583. (See Prof. Hodiwala's paper in the Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, No. 8, pp. 13-14).

1601 A MS. of the 'Bahman Yast' written by Māhvin-dat at Cambay. From this year, the Parsis of Cambay ceased to be mentioned in the Rivāyats. So it seems that the Colony began to lose its importance, owing to the rise of the Portuguese power.

SOME HISTORICAL NOTES ON THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF SOUTHERN PERSIA

By C. INOSTRANTSEV

The mountain tribes of Kermân are interesting for the elucidation of the ethnical surroundings in relation to the Parsis, as related in the *Qisseh-i Sanjân*, immediately before their emigration to India. The oldest reference we have is to the mountaineer tribe of Pârchan, the Bâriz : Herodotus mentions this tribe for the first time in connection with the reckoning of the taxes of the Persian kingdom (III, 94), where they are named 'Parikanii' and mentioned with the 'Asiatic Ethiops'; for the second time, in relation to the army of Xerxes, (VII, 68 and 86), where he describes their dress and armour: the dress prepared from fleece, and the aboriginal bows and swords. The chief has an Iranian name¹. Their existence is affirmed by notices taken of them in Sasanian times: Tabârî relates their defeat by Chosroes Antûsrwân². We find the mention of this tribe in the romance of Ardasir³. Ibn-Khurdâdbeh relates that the chief of the Qufs and of Pârchan⁴ had received from the first Sasanian king Ardasir the title of 'sâh'. Perhaps by the 'Asiatic Ethiops' of Herodotus are to be understood the Qufs. The opinion of Arabic writers as to the origin of the Qufs from Oman and Yaman can only be an indication of the anthropological resemblance of this people with the population of north-eastern Africa.

1. For these oldest narratives of the Bâriz and the Qufs see J. Marquart, 'Erânsehr', 31.

2. Th. Nöldeke, 'Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur zeit des Sasaniden', 157.

3. Th. Nöldeke in 'Bezzenbergers Beiträge', IV, 57.

4. Marquart.

W. Tomaschek¹ is probably right when he identifies the Qufs with the 'Asiatic Ethiops' of Herodotus (VII, 70) and considers them the most westerly representatives of the Dravidas. Balâzuri² mentions the Qufs in Kerman, and refers also to the land of Qussa, perhaps Qufsa, in Sind³. The people Balûs are not known to the ancient writers⁴.

From the time of the great Islamic conquests we often come across the names of these people in the Arabic works, but detailed notices are preserved by Istakhri, Ibn-Hauqal and Maqdisi⁵. In the first place it is necessary to indicate the difference in language of the surrounding population. Istakhri⁶ indicates that the language of the Qufs, Balûs and Bâriz is not Persian, but they have their own dialects. According to Ibn-Hauqal⁷, only the Qufs have a particular dialect, but here there must be some misunderstanding in the text. Maqdisi⁸ relates that the languages of the Qufs and the Balûs are not understood and are similar to the language of Sind.

1. 'Zur historischen Topographie von Persien,' I, Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie, phil-hist. Classe, CII, 190-191.

2. *De Goeje*, 391.

3. *Ib.* 438. J. Marquart in 'Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft', XLIX, 663, n. 3, reads this name 'Quchcha'. Cf. the Persian name Qufs-Qûch and Qûch-Gandava in Baluchistan. For the name of the chief of this land رأسل, more properly رأسك, see also Istakhri, 171 and 177, Ibn-Hauqal, 226 and 232, Maqdisi, 476 and 484. Perhaps بارسک on page 490 ought to be corrected to رأسك. Marquart, 665-667, identifies the name Quf with the old Persian *Kaufa*, 'mountain.'

4. Tomaschek, 191, supposes that they are the descendants of the Utii, Herodotus, III, 93 and VII, 68. But I think that we cannot identify them with the Zutt, Jât as Tomaschek has done.

5. Cf. Guy le Strange, 'The Lands of Eastern Caliphate,' 323-324.

6. 'Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum', I, 167.

7. BGA, II, 224.

8. BGA, III, 471.

Istakhri (163-165) determines the territory of the Qufs thus: on the south the Indian ocean, on the north Jiruft, near modern Karimâbâd, to the east the desert which separates Kermân from Makrân, to the west the lands occupied by the Balûs upto Hurmuz. According to him, their territory is fertile, but consists of inaccessible mountains, seven in number, over each of which there is a chief. In the time of Istakhri, the government paid a sum to this people for security; still the Qufs robbed the people on the roads and got a large amount of riches. In the absence of riding animals they went on foot. They were of meagre person, of tanned skin and well-formed. The Balûs lived in the mountains occupied by the Qufs and were friendly to them; they were nomads, possessing herds of animals and living in the tents made of felt prepared from cow's hair and led a peaceful life. The mountains of Bâriz were also fertile, even more than the mountains of the Qufs, but possessing more northerly vegetation, sometimes covered with snow and inaccessible. These mountains contained iron mines. The Persian translator of Istakhri adds that the Qufs are named Qûch, and the Balûs Balûch in Persian. Ibn-Hauqal (220-221) identifies the Qufs with the Kurds and gives the figure of their population to be ten thousand in round number. According to him, Bûid Abû-Suja'-Fannâ-khusrau ('Adud-ad-daula) vanquished them and took hold of their mountains. The Balûs helped him in subordinating them.

Maqdisi, like Istakhri, describes these places and the tribes inhabiting them and adds some interesting notes. Thus, whilst describing the mountains of Bâriz (471) in the same way as Istakhri, he further mentions the mountains of Bârdjân (467), where, according to him, there was a fortress and a cathedral-mosque; whilst narrating

the subjugation of the Balûs by 'Adud-ad-daula (471), he names as Balûsian (Balûchian) the language of the inhabitants of Bannâjpûr, a city in Makrân (478), and adds that they are Muslims only in name (cf. 472), on the limits of Kermân. Whilst describing the desert of Khorasan in details, he refers to the Qufs (488-490). He has represented them as savage robbers, pillaging the caravans on the road over the whole of the Khorasan desert. They beat their captives like the serpents with stones, and after robbing, they hid themselves in ambuscades made in the mountains. Their principal weapons were the arrows, but they also used swords. Before their subjugation by 'Adud-ad-daula, the Balûs were the most terrible of these robbers. In the time of Maqdisî the authorities of Fârs always had hostages from this tribe; for this reason, they did not attack the caravans, which were under the protection of Fârs. Maqdisî also relates their patience in hunger and thirst, their nourishment being derived from the little balls of the lotus. Their confession of Islam was purely nominal. They always went on foot and at times rode the female camels. In their opinion, they had a just right over the booty they obtained by plunder.¹

Tomaschek, who has identified the Qufs with the modern black-skinned people of the province of Basâkird in southern Kermân, quotes (191) the note on Onesicritus made by Strabo, according to which a tribe in Kermân used to present to its chief the best of the enemies' skulls and nobody could marry without presenting this trophy. From this custom Tomaschek has come to the conclusion that, at this remote period, we undoubtedly find notice of the non-Iranian population.

1. These notices are also found in the Geographical Dictionary of Yâqût.

This custom, characteristic of some people in the lowest grade of culture, perhaps refers to a method of annihilating the enemies employed by the Qufs, as narrated by Maqdisî (286). According to him, the Qufs used to lay the heads of the captives on the board and break them with stones, the reason for so doing, as stated by Maqdisî, being this that they would not spoil their swords. It is possible that, after breaking the heads of the enemies with stones, the Qufs carried away the skulls as trophies. In this connection, we may quote the note of Istakhri (144) on Abû-Dulaf, governor of the Khalif in Hamadân in the second quarter of the ninth century. When Mihrajân-ben-Rûzbeh, one of the petty princes of Fârs from the stock of Yilûe, had killed Abû-Dulaf's brother, he killed Mihrajân and carried away his head. Up to the end of the power of the Dulafids, this head remained with the posterity of Abû-Dulaf. In their campaigns, this head was borne on a pole in the front, the skull being covered with silver. When this trophy fell into the hands of the Safigârids, 'Amr-ben-Laith broke the head. Undoubtedly we have here the instance of a trophy in the form of a skull. It is interesting to note that according to Ibn-Rustâ'î, Abû-Dulaf was one of the 'Ibâdits, sedentary Nestorian population of Hîra, an Arabic vassal principality of the Sasanians with authority over Bahrain². The ethnic composition of the 'Ibâdits was very heterogeneous and it is not impossible to prove the connection of Abû-Dulaf with the Qufs. From the facts mentioned above we see that, up to the end of the tenth century, all Persia, through the Khorasan desert, was divided into two parts by the rambling tribes, partly of Iranian, and partly of non-

1. BGA, V, 207.

2. G. Rothstein, 'Die Dynastie der Lahmiden in al-Hîra', 1928, 131-133.

Iranian origin, and they were in a very low grade of culture. One of them, the Pârchan, was finally subjugated to the Muslim dynasty, only at the end of the ninth century, by the Saffârids, and at the end of the tenth century, according to Maqdisî, was probably kneaded totally in the Islamic-Persian surrounding. The other tribe of the Balûchs, was subordinated to the Bûids only in the second half of the tenth century. Istakhri wrote his work two years after 'Adud-ad-daula came to the throne and for this reason we find no notice of this fact in his work. The third tribe of the Qûch was only nominally subjugated, with great difficulty, and continued their rambling life. When, at the end of the first half of the eleventh century, the Saljûqid Qâvard-bek conquered Kermân, we find that the ethnic name, Pârchan, did not exist, it was only a geographical nomination of "the mountains of Bârjân," populated by the Qûch, who were subjugated by Qâvard.¹ Later on, in the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries, we find the Qûch and the Balûch in Kermân, in relation with the amir of Hurmuz². In our times, based on the tradition of the heroic poems, the new historian of the Balûch³ relates their movement towards the East. It must be noticed that Muhammad-ben-Ibrâhim (182) describes the Qûch and the Balûch of the provinces of Garmsîr⁴. In Maqdisî we find the notice of the nearness of the language of the Balûch to the language of the population of Sind, i.e., to the population of the north-western India; but we do not think that

1. See Muhammad-ben-Ibrâhim, 'History of the Seldjûqids of Kermân', ed. Houtsma, 5-8.

2. *Ib.* 154 and 182.

3. M. Longworth-Dames, 'The Baloch race', 33-34, and the 'Encyklopädie des Islam', 661.

4. For this name see J. Marquart, 'Erânshahr', 272.

the Arabic writers refer to the same people, who comprise a great part of the population of the land, which now has the same name, Baluchistan. Admitting very early ethnographic, anthropological and linguistic fusion, and after considering the above mentioned facts, we think we can come to the conclusion, which confirms some opinions expressed before by us, and important from different points of view: the territory occupied by the Baluch, during the period of the Islamic middle age, extended from the Persian gulf to the Indus and, therefore, the chief place of their habitation was especially the western borders: a fact which is of interest for the study of the ethnic composition of this people and of their language.¹

1. Cf. further *A. Kremer*, 'Culturgeschichte des Orients unter den Chalifen', I, 307-308, note, where the preceding literature is indicated. The opinions as to the home-land of the Baluch being the Caspian lands as stated in 'Encyklopädie des Islam', 652-4, are not clear. See *ib.* 659, a general view of the language of the Baluch founded on the researches of *Geiger*.

A NOTE ON THE HISTORY OF THE SACRED FIRES

By C. INOSTRANTSEV

In his translation of the Avesta, J. Darmesteter has given a detailed interpretation of the three sacred fires under whose protection were the three principal classes of Persian society in the time of the Sasanids—the military, the clergy and the agriculturists¹. These fires, not directly named in the Avesta, are named in the 'Great Bundahishn': 'Farnbag,' "protector of the clergy," 'Gūsnasp,' "protector of the military class," and 'Bûrjin-Mitr,' "protector of the agriculturists," and we find them named 'Khurdâd,' 'Gusasp' and 'Burzin-Mihr' in the Rivâyats.

Besides these three principal fires, the entire territory of Sasanian Persia was covered by temples of fire more or less known². In the first place, from their significance,

1. J. Darmesteter, 'Le Zend-Avesta', T. I. (*Annales du Musée Guimet*, XXI), 151-156, and also, A. V. Williams Jackson, 'Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran', 98-100. For the fire 'Farnbag' see the same author, 'The location of Farnbag fire—the most ancient of the Zoroastrian fires' in 'Journal of the American Oriental Society', V. 41, 81-107. For the fire 'Gūsnasp' see the special references of H. C. Rawlinson in 'Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London', X, 65-159, and F. Spiegel in 'Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft', XXXIII, 496-502. Cf. Th. Nöldeke, 'Geschichte der Sasaniden nach Tabari', 100 ann. 1. According to Ibn-Khurdâdbeh and such other later writers as Yâqût, it is especially interesting to note that every Sasanian king had to perform the pilgrimage of this fire on his accession to the throne. It was the richest fire temple in Persia. For the generous presents of the king to this fire see Th. Nöldeke, 104.

2. Mas'ûdi also mentions the temples in Hind, Sind and China.

we can with certainty name the province of Fârs as the residence of the fire ‘Tarnbag,’ “Protector of the clergy,” in the village of Kâriyân. Istakhrî and Ibn-Hauqal¹ enumerate the principal sacred fires of Fârs, and relate that there is a great number of temples of fire in Fârs, twenty in all. Ibn-Hauqal adds that it is difficult even to enumerate them without their official register. Such a register did exist. They name as the most celebrated the fire temple in Kâriyân. It is well known that it was at first located in Jurre² or Jûr, which, according to them, was founded by Dârà-ibn-Dârà in the Achæmenian period, the place of the Persians for taking the most solemn oaths; there were two in Sâbûr, two in Kâzarûn, two in Sirâz, one in the village of Bargân near Sirâz, which was visible from this town. Mas‘ûdî³ also enumerates the sacred fire temples and their consecration is not limited to the province of Fârs. Of the places named having fire temples are: Tûs, Bukhârâ, Nisâbûr, Siz, Qûmis and Sajastân, and of the towns of Fârs: Kâriyân, Arrajân, Dârâbjird, Istakhr, Nisâ, Sâbûr, Jûr. We also find the fire temples of Persia enumerated by other later Arab geographers, e.g., Idrîsî.⁴

We find separate notices of these temples taken by the most ancient Arab geographers. The fire of Siz is

1. ‘Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum,’ I, 109, 2-5 and 118, 6 - 119, 6; II, 181, 2-4, and 189, 5 - 190, 7. As to the register, دیوان آمد, *al-diywan amad*, there existed, in a general sense, a Sasanian proverb, “the register has come,” indicating unexpected danger.

2. See P. Schwarz, ‘Iran im Mittelalter nach den arabischen Geographen’, I, 35, anm. 4, as to the reason of the modern name read ‘Jurre,’ correcting the reading ‘Khurre’ of the edition. The names of the fires in great number can be read with difficulty.

3. ‘Les Prairies d’or’, IV, 72 foll.

4. By A. Jaubert, ‘Géographie d’Edrisi’, I, 413-414. The proper names are much disfigured.

mentioned by Ibn-Khurdâdbeh¹ and Ibn-al-Faqih.² Its name, according to them, is Âdar-jusnas and it was greatly venerated by the fire-worshippers. The foundations of some fire temples are connected with some historical personalities. As for instance, the temple in Jûr was constructed, according to Ibn-al-Faqîh, Istakhri and Ibn-Hauqal³, by Ardasir, the first Sasanian king. According to the statement of Ibn-Ruste⁴, there existed, in a district of Isfahân, a fortress with the temple of fire constructed by Bahman, son of Isfandiyâr, one of the mythical kings. This temple and its fire existed up to the time of Ibn-Ruste. The same author⁵ names a temple, highly venerated by the fire-worshippers, near Hulwân, a village of Sasanian construction. It attracted pilgrims from the remotest places. He⁶ also mentions a temple of fire in Madâin, the post-Sasanian capital.

Yâqûbî⁷ mentions the temples of fire in Kâzwin. Certainly, all the temples of the Sasanian times were not preserved in the Islamic period. Some of them were converted into mosques, a fact which is interesting for the history of the Islamic architecture. The conversion of Christian churches into mosques is well-known, and this fact explains the influence of the Byzantine architecture on the Islamic; in the farther eastern provinces this influence was due to the Sasanian architecture. For example, we

1. 'Bibl. Geogr. Ar.', VI, 91 (translation) and 119, 17-120, 2 (text).

2. 'Bibl. Geogr. Ar.', V, 286, 13-14. Cf. Ibn-Ruste, *ib.*, VII, 164, 20.

3. 'Bibl. Geogr. Ar.', V, 198, 17-18; I, 124, 2; II, 195, 4.

4. 'Bibl. Geogr. Ar.', VII, 153, 4-5.

5. *Ib.* 165, 16-18.

6. *Ib.* 186, 9-10. The expenditure on this temple was double the *kharaj* of Fârs.

7. 'Bibl. Geogr. Ar.', VII, 271, 11.

can quote Maqdisi¹, who states that the cathedral-mosque of Istakhr was in old times a temple of fire ; this can be reconciled with his mention of the representations of the cows, *i.e.*, of the cows' heads, on the upper parts of its columns. This mosque was constructed on the plan of the Syrian mosques. This proves that many alterations were made. According to a statement of Mas'ûdî, Humây, the daughter of Bahman, had converted an edifice in Istakhr, a pagan temple of idols, into a temple of fire; in later times, the fire was removed and the temple demolished. This temple was at the distance of one farsakh from Istakhr, and upto the tenth century were preserved the beautiful columns on the upper parts of which were the representations of horses and other animals, and a wall of stone with the representations of men, according to local belief, of the prophets. It is certain that a large number of these temples was demolished by the Arab conquerors. Ibn-al-Faqîh² has devoted a note in relation to the three most venerated fires. He gives this note in his description of the province of Hamadân and the district of Farâhân, about the village of Furdujân having an ancient temple of fire. The text of this note is not in a perfect state, but the sense is generally clear. The fire of Furdujân is, in the words of Ibn-al-Faqîh, one particularly venerated by the fire-worshippers. This fire was a part of the fire Âdar-jusnas.³

One Mutawakkili relates, from the statement of the fire-worshippers, the history of this local fire. It is related that king Qubâd, on the advice of Mâzdak, extinguished all the fires except the three most ancient;

1. 'Bibl. Geogr. Ar.', III, 436, 3-4.

2. 'Bibl. Geogr. Ar.', V, 246, 3 - 247, 13.

3. Naming the third principal fire as the "fire of Zardust" Ibn-al Faqih agrees entirely with Firdausî and the Rivâyats.

then, it is stated, in dark and confused language, that the fire of Farâhân was transported to Âdarbâijân and was mixed with the fire Âdar-jusnasf. After Mazdak was killed, the fire was brought again to Furdujân and remained there upto 282 A.H., when a Turkish governor of Qumm besieged the village, demolished the temple, extinguished the fire, and carried the hearth to Qumm. From this time the fire of Furdujân was brought to an end.

This citation from Mutawakkilî is important, because it gives an interesting note on the fate of the fire and the history of its wanderings, it being a rare example of the story of a sacred fire. Similar stories have undoubtedly existed in different forms in Parsi literature. This note gives the story of the local cult of a little village; the fires of the great centres have had their more distinguished history.¹

1. I give here a very rare note on the fire of other kinds and on the classification of fires, the fire of the body, the fire of the plants, the fire of the earth and the fire of lightning, on the "fires of Kalwâdhâ," i.e., fires of lightning (Avestan *vâzishta*) connected with beliefs, from Birûnî, who was so well informed of Iranian antiquities (*Chronology*, ed. Sachau, text 215, translation 199-200): in the year when the Bûid prince 'Adhad-ad-daula entered Baghdâd at night on the eve of Naurûz the fires flashed on the western shore of the Tigris opposite the village of Kalwâdhâ, and the men sent for inquiry informed the Sultan that "as soon as they came nearer to the fires they went farther off, and as soon as they went away the fires came nearer." Birûnî also mentions the belief that on the mountain Dama in Fârs every night, on the eve of Naurûz, can be seen a far-spreading and strong-shining lightning whether in the clear or in the dark weather.

THE VIEWS OF ARABIC AUTHORS ON THE SASANIAN ALPHABET

By C. INOSTRANTSEV

During the Sasanian period there were two alphabets, both of Aramaic origin : Chaldean-Pahlavi and Sasanian-Pahlavi. The first, with less quantity of materials, went out of use comparatively early ; it was used for inscribing epigraphs in eastern Iran and for inscriptions on the coins of Transoxiana. The second, with more quantity of materials, was divided into two groups : the inscriptions and manuscripts, with the sub-division of the first in three classes : 1) the immovable monuments on rocks, 2) seals and engraved stones, and 3) coins. In the manuscripts, whole or fragmentary, the short-handed forms were used, which have connection with the study of the Pahlavi papyri¹.

In the Arabic literature, we have short notices on the kinds of the Iranian scripts which were known and in use in Sasanian Persia. As we know, a long time after the Islamic conquest, the Persian language and the methods of 'chancellerie' of the Sasanian state

1. I give a general note by way of bibliography: for the alphabet, see general remarks in the 'Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie', I, 253-255 and II, 75-80; for a history of the study of the Pahlavi epigraphy before the twentieth century, see *E. Drouin*, 'Histoire de l'épigraphie Sassanide (aperçu sommaire)', *Le Muséon*, II (XVII), 1898, 5-15, 108-122; for the palaeography of the papyri, for instance, see 'Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache', 1878, 114-116; 'Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzogs Rainer', IV, 1888, 123-126; 'Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Geselsch.', XLIII, 1889, 50-52, 609-612.

were preserved in Persia in the affairs of the state¹. As the Pahlavi script was preserved in the offices of state of the early Islamic period, it can be supposed that it had influenced the development of the Arabic script in Persia. These facts are interesting, not only for a study of the alphabet of the Sasanian time, but also for the study of the historical development of the kinds of writing in the Islamic epoch.

The passage of an-Nadīm's 'Fihrist', in which there is a notice of the various kinds of writing in use in Persia, is well known in the scientific literature. In the critical edition of the text of the 'Fihrist', prepared by G. Flügel, this passage is found in Volume I, 12-14,—on the kinds of writing especially 13,8-14, 18—and Volume II, 6-9, particularly 8-9². Generally speaking this passage can be considered as an explanation, but not in full. Amongst others, on a copy of the 'Huzvāres Grammar' of F. Spiegel (Wien, 1856), preserved in the 'Asiatic Museum and Institute for Oriental Studies', which formerly belonged to M. Haug, some explanations having a particular value are marked in the owner's handwriting on pp. 35-36.

In this passage, after relating the traditions as to the origin of the Persian alphabet, and after enumerating, in the words of Ibn-al-Muqaffa', the languages and dialects of the population of the Sasanian state, an-Nadīm, gives a note from the same author on the several kinds of this script. According to him these writings are of seven kinds: 1) *Din-dipīrīh*, دین دیپریه, "religious writing". This reading was proposed by Quatremère and is

1. See 'Balāzuri', ed. De Goeje, 300.

2. Formerly this passage was explained by E. Quatremère in 'Journal des Savants', 1840, 414-416 and by F. Lenormant in 'Journal Asiatique', VI, 1865, 197-201.

confirmed in the 'Kitâb-at-tanbih' of Mas'ûdî¹. This was the hieratic writing of the Holy Scripture, the Avesta. 2) *Vîsh-dipîrih*, ویش دپر، "writing having many letters," an alphabet of 365 letters, used only in the works on the magical sciences². In the time of the author of the 'Fihrist', this writing was not used in Persia and was not known even to the clergy. According to Haug, it is probably the Assyro-Babylonian Cuneiform script. 3) *Kustij*³, كستج, correctly understood by an-Nâdim, "epigraphical writing." According to Lenormant, "epigraphical alphabet of Pahlavi." This alphabet was of 28 letters and used for official purposes, for engraving on stones, on the coins, in the inscriptions on the webs, and in the embroidery on the dress⁴. 4) *Nîmkustij*, نیم کستج, "the half-*kustij*," also of 28 letters and used in the works on medicine and philosophy. An-Nâdim explains that this name has probably its origin in the fact that the letters of this alphabet were doubly finer than the usual *kustij*. In practice these two kinds of writing were probably mixed up. In the Geographical Dictionary of Yâqût, II, 887⁵, it is related that in Risahr, in the Sasanian time, there lived those who knew the جستق, *justiq*, writing, who wrote, with this alphabet, the medical, astrological and philosophical books. This script is named *kustij*, but the books written in it have a greater relation to the

1. 'Bibl. Geogr. Arab.', VIII, 91-92, transl. of *B. Carrâ de Vaux*, 133-134.

2. 'Fihrist', I, 314 and II, 155. (Cf. my 'Materialy iz arabskikh istočnikov dlja kulturnoj istorii Sasanidskoj Persii', 1907, 71, n. 2, in Russian.

3. *P. Horn*, 'Grundriss der neopersischen etymologie', 191.

4. It is the Arabic *tirâz*, طراز, which already existed in Sasanian Persia. See my 'Materialy', 5 and 31.

5. Cf. 'Fihrist', II, #105.

books which, according to the 'Fihrist', were written in the *nîm-kustij*. Ibn-al-Faqih¹, whilst relating the inscription on the rock near Hamadân, has named this script كوشتیج, *kushṭij*, but the contents of this inscription are ethical; it is perhaps due to a misunderstanding on the part of the author. 5) *Shâh-dipîrîh*, شاه دبیره, "royal script," not known to the people. The people used the Syrian alphabet with Persian reading; this alphabet was of 33 letters and was named *nâme-dipîrîh*, نامه دبیره, or *ham-dipîrîh*, هام دبیره, "letter writing," "short-handed writing." 6) *Râz-dipîrîh*, راز دبیره, "secret writing." The number of letters in this script was 40 and it was written without ligatures. According to Haug, it was probably the Persian Cuneiform alphabet. 7) *Râs-dipîrîh*, راس دبیره, the script for writing books on logic and philosophy, containing 42 letters. This was the "scientific writing" in the strict sense.² According to Haug, this is probably the Syrian script.

These notices of Ibn-al-Muqaffa' we find partly in other sources. We have said that Mas'ûdî, in his 'Kitâb-at-tanbih', also mentions the seven kinds of writing, and amongst them the "religious script," and besides this the script named by him as consisting of 160 letters³. According to Haug, it is probably the Pahlavi writing with all ligatures⁴.

Besides the 'Fihrist', we have further a mention of the seven scripts, used in Sasanian Persia for the registers of different kinds, in the encyclopædia entitled 'Mafatih-

1. 'Bibl. Geogr. Arab.', V, 243-244.

2. Horn, 135. Pahlavi *râs* = Persian *râh*, "way"; therefore, it means "reason", "intellect."

3. Perhaps the name of this script can be read كسان دبیره, *Kasân-dipîrîh* (not دبیره) "common writing."

4. "Pehlevi-schrift mit allen ligaturen".

al-'ulûm' of Al-Khwârazmî, the author of the tenth century¹. This passage describing the seven scripts and the chapter on all the words which occur frequently in the history of Persia were re-edited and translated with detailed notes by J. M. Unvala². This description occurs in the sixth section of the sixth chapter of this work, where after explaining some words separately and after the enumeration of the languages and dialects of Persia resembling the enumeration of Ibn-al-Muqaffâ³ in the 'Fihrist'⁴, the author enumerates the scripts and he translates the names of these scripts into Arabic. This enumeration is as follows:— 1) *Dâd-dipîrîh*, داد دفیره, "judicial writing," 2) *Shahr-hamâr-dipîrîh*, شهر همار دفیره, "the writing of the land-assessment account," 3) *Kade-hamâr-dipîrîh*, کاده همار دفیره, "the writing of the account of the possessions of the crown," 4) *Ganj-hamâr-dipîrîh*, گنج همار دفیره, "the writing of the register of the treasures," 5) *Âhur-hamâr-dipîrîh*, آهر همار دفیره, "the writing of the register of the stables," 6) *Âtash-hamâr-dipîrîh*, آتش همار دفیره, "the writing of the accounts of the fire-temples," 7) *Ravânegân dipîrîh*, روانگان دفیره, "the writing of the pious foundations."

We see that the description of Khwârazmî principally relates the different writings in the Sasanian 'chancellerie,' whereas the passage in the 'Fihrist' acquaints us with the scripts used in religious and scientific works and in inscriptions and correspondence. These official writings undoubtedly existed in the Islamic period and were used by the Sasanian

1. Ed. G. Van Vloten, especially 117-118

2. 'Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute,' No. 11, 1928, 76-111, especially 80 and 91-92.

3. Besides the 'Fihrist' and Khwârazmî, we find a description of the characteristics of the languages and dialects of Persia also in Maqdîsî and in the Geographical Dictionary of Yâqût in the words of Hamza Isfahâni.

clerks in their papers¹. These writings can be classified from the contents of the documents which were written. In the first place we have the script in which the judicial papers were written; in its character it must be distinguished from the six others destined principally for financial documents; for this reason, in the name of this script the word *hamār*, ܚܾܻ, "number," "quantity," is not mentioned. The next two scripts can be placed in one category, as they relate to the financial affairs of the state², in which land-assessment and possessions of the crown are mentioned. The terms used to express these concepts in the Persian and Arabic languages are interesting. The Persian *Shahr*³ has the same significance as the Arabic *balad*, and the Persian *kade*⁴ can be identified with the Arabic *dâr-al-mulk*. The fourth and the fifth scripts are closely related to the treasures and the stables and to their registers, and present the lists of the possessions of the palace. The sixth and the seventh writings are related to the documents of the clergy, the most powerful class of the Sasanian state, to the accounts⁵ of the temples of fire and to the possessions of the church not dispossessed. The difference between these was probably the same as between *Shahr* and *kade* mentioned above.

As the Sasanian forms of the 'chancellerie' existed in the Islamic period, the influence of the Pahlavi

1. For the clerks in the Sasanian times, see Th. Nöldeke, 'Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden', 445, and A. Christensen, 'L'empire des Sassanides', 38 suiv.

2. For the incomes, cf. Nöldeke, 354-355 and 377; for the finances, cf. Christensen, 56 suiv.

3. For *shahr* and *balad*, see Nöldeke, 445, n. 2 and cf. Christensen, 45, n. 2.

4. Persian *kad-khuda*, "the ruler of the house," was also the title of the Sasanian king.

5. For the word حُسْبَانٌ cf. R. Dozy, 'Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes', I, 285.

writing on the development of the Arabic alphabet in Persia is unquestionable. This fact has already been noticed in the literature¹; a characteristic mark of this influence is, for instance, the direction of the letters from the right hand on the top to the left below. It is indubitable that, in the Islamic period, owing to the great influence of the Sasanian modes, there existed the registers mentioned above and the difference in the writings of these registers and the other different forms of writing. We name, for instance, the writing *thulîth*, ثلث, the letters of which are threefold thicker than the usual writing, the principle of which is the same as of the script *nîm-kustij* or that related in the 'Fihrist' by the name of *nâme*, which up to this time is designated *ta'lîq*, تعلق, the writing most loved by the Persian calligraphers.²

1. 'Encyklopädie des Islam', 408.

2. I wish to add here two supplementary notes to those written by me twenty-five years ago, so as to clear up my mistakes. In my work on 'the Persian literary tradition in the first centuries of Islam', printed in the 'Mémoires de l'Académie des sciences de Russie, classe hist. phil.', VIII série, Vol. VIII, No. 13, p. 8, in the second edition in the Sasanian Essays, p. 8-9, and in the English translation of G. K. Nariman, 'Iranian influence on Moslem literature', p. 19-21: 1) A fortified castle is mentioned on the authority of Istakhri and Ibn-Hauqal, the name of which is designated قلعة الجص and which I had translated "the castle of Jiss"; but it ought to have been translated "the castle of plaster" (le gypse), because this is the significance of the word جص, it is not a proper name. 2) On the authority of the glossary to the 'Bibl. Geogr. Arab.', IV, 182-183, and of the Lexicon of Vullers, I translated the word *bâdguzârât*, بادگزارات, as "those who know the tradition". The late Cl. Huart has doubted the existence of such a word in the Press. For this writing not sufficiently clear in the text G. Hoffmann ('Auszüge aus syrische Akten persischer Märtyrer', 294) has proposed the better known word, يادكارات, *yâdkârât*, from ياد, *yâd*, 'doings', in the sense of "memoirs of the past," "notes of the past doings". With these corrections, though not essential for the general understanding of the text, but necessary for correct exegesis, I further note a slip of the pen in the English translation: Sapor I had defeated, not the emperor Valentinian or Valentine, but Valerian.

THE RIVER OF IRAN-VEJ IN PARSI TRADITION

BY C. INOSTRANTSEV

[An abstract prepared by Mr. W. Ivanow from the 'Bulletin of the Russian Academy', 1917, pp. 891-895.]

Mr. Inostrantsev supports his point of view concerning the location of *Irân-Vêj* in the east of *Irân* and not in *Âdharbâyjân*. As he says, he was inclined, in his earlier works, to locate it in the territory of the 'Seythians' or the Sakas, from the boundaries of India to the Caspian and the Aral steppes. According to his idea, it is not so very important to find definite indications as to its location as to discover indirect and so-to-say "unconscious" allusions to it, free from deliberate perversions introduced in later times.

The *Bundahishn* (XX, 13 seq.) mentions this river along with other rivers belonging exclusively to the eastern *Irân*, and this fact may suggest that it must also be sought in that part of the country. W. Geiger had tried to identify this river *Dâtik* of *Irân-Vêj* either with *Syr-Dariâ* or the upper *Zarafsân*.

Immediately next to the river of *Irân-Vêj*, the *Bundahishn* (XX, 14) mentions the river *Dargâm*. Geiger, following Tomaschek, thought that it was the same as a passage of the *Zarafsân* near Samarkand, which is still called *Dargâm*. But in the accounts of the early Arab geographers this passage is called *Bars*.

The Arabs mention a district of the same name, called *Dargham*, in *Sughd*. There is also a town in *Khwarizm* called *Dargân*. The difficulty as to the

final *n* instead of *m* is just like that of the short *a* instead of the long *â* in the former case.

But these early Arab geographers also mention a river Dirghâm, not a district, having exactly the same name as this: see Ibn Khurdâdbeh, Ibn al-Faqîh and Ibn Rusta. It is the river of Badakhsân, now called Kokcha, a tributary of Panj, which is called Wakh-khâb or Jaryâb by the Arabs. This name is possibly very old and it may be the same as the river *Dargâmonis* of Ptolemy.

If thus the river Darghâm, mentioned in the Bundahîsn, really belonged to Badakhsân,—and this is quite probable,—we may look for the river of Irân-Vêj also somewhere near by. Mr. Inostrantsev suggests that it must be the same as the river Panj or Âmû-dariâ in its upper part.

Mr. Inostrantsev refers to the remark in the Bundahîsn regarding this river of Irân-Vêj that it is full of noxious creatures; what they were, it is not stated here. Mr. Inostrantsev connects this remark with the well-known myth of the ants guarding and digging gold, mentioned as early as in the work of Herodotus (III, 102-105) and read by many scholars. The gold mines of Wakhân and Badakhsân are frequently mentioned in the eastern literature with various fantastic details. The inhabitants of these mythical gold fields are called Dards by Strabo. The same name is given to them in the Mahâbhârata. This people, as is known, lived near Wakhân, in the region of the Upper Oxus.

What were these “ants”? Were they real ants or a species of rhodents living in families like ants, who could throw the sand containing gold out of their holes, or was the term “ant” merely a surname of the people?

It is difficult to decide. But as the ants were regarded as very noxious creatures by the early Zoroastrian authors, it is quite possible that the author of the Bundahisn, referring to the vile beasts abounding in the river of Irân-Vêj, must have had exactly these ants in view. If so, the problem of the location of Irân-Vêj can be solved. This country must be the same as the inaccessible hill tracks of Badakhsân, Wakhân, Sughn and other localities situated on the Upper Oxus river.

THE GEOGRAPHICAL SCHEME OF THE ORIENT

By C. INOSTRANTSEV

(*Translated from the Russian by Dr. Olaf Hansen*)

The expressions : 'Orient,' 'Oriental people,' 'Oriental languages,' though covering a wide range, are nevertheless connected with the idea which, from a general point of view, needs no explanation as a result of certain historically developed ideas. As a matter of fact the main point is not the expression, but the more or less distinct idea which the expression forms in the human mind. Though this expression is basically geographical, it is not possible to draw fixed limits from the geographical point of view. According to some specialists, the expression covers all the area between the Behring straits, the Adriatic shore of the Balkan peninsula, and the African coast of the Atlantic Ocean respectively, between North Siberia and the Cape of Good Hope. One of the greatest geographers and ethnographers calls the New World "the utmost east of the populated world." The author of these lines does not intend to press these expressions into a narrow frame although they might then correspond to the assumed general idea.

The expression, as already said, is a geographical one and as such the word 'Orient' is closely connected with the rising of the sun. From the standpoint of the specialists-geographers, however, it is in a particular relation to the meridian. This relation, of course, is based on general agreement. From the standpoint of the geographical scheme, one has to take notice of the history of this assumed line from which

geography reckons the degrees of longitude. The ancient geography reckoned the degrees from the utmost western end of the old world, from the western shores of Africa, which method is also identical with the modern reckoning, the meridian of Ferro. The European as well as the Arabian geographers of the middle ages followed the same principles. Only with some of the old Arabian geographers we find another meridian, and that quite exceptionally: it is the meridian of the Oriental peoples, especially of the Indians, called the meridian of Udyâna (Ujayini) after the name of a town in Central India; this is the 'Qabbatu'l-Uzain,' "the dome of Udyâna," of the Arabian geographers, and the Cubbet-al-Arin in the Latin alteration (really a mistake in writing) of the middle ages. Udyâna is situated on the 93rd degree of eastern longitude; and as even the eastern nations themselves reckoned all the area east of this meridian as the Orient, we could take this meridian as the eastern boundary of our Orient. If we bisect the area between the 1st and the 93rd degree, regarding the first part as the West and the second as the East, the dividing line being the $46^{\circ} 50'$ degree, west of this line is situated the assumed West, and east of it the assumed East. Having thus determined the eastern and the western limits, we have to fix also the southern and the northern ones. Then we have a quadrangle comprising the assumed eastern (oriental) and western countries. It is very easy to fix the expression south: south—are all countries having equal nights and days, which are situated between the tropics. If the distance equal to the distance between the tropics is adjusted from the northern pole, we get, according to the results given to me by a specialist-geographer, $43^{\circ} 50'$ of northern latitude. Thus we have the searched for quadrangle. Places included therein we can easily find out on any map.

Those countries which we can unite under the general name "Orient" are accordingly as follows: Asia Minor, Egypt (up to the tropic), Syria, Palestine, Northern Arabia, Armenia, Kurdistan, Caucasus, Mesopotamia, Persia, Western Turkestan, Afghanistan, Baluchistan, and the extreme North-west of India. All these are countries really regarded as the Orient (east) in the literal meaning of the word at the time this expression was formed, *i.e.*, in the ancient epoch when the ancients formed geographical expressions. (I remember on this occasion the word Levante). Interesting is the following determination of a scholar of religious history: Buddhism became the religion of the Far-East, Islam remained the religion of the East (Orient). In the opinion of the most modern historian of Asia, the Pamir (and, I may add, also the above mentioned geographical longitude of it) divides Asia into two parts, likely two different worlds which have little contact. With the above mentioned restrictions and only from the standpoint of the geographical scheme, it is possible to say that in this way the expression can be determined in its original meaning. In this connection it is possible to make a distinction between Orient and Asia (I remember the Assyrian word 'asu', meaning "rise," "east", which is the source of the word Asia) and expressions connected therewith with regard to the languages, the history, the material remains or other topics of Asia and the Orient.

A CRYPTOGRAM OF KHAYYAM

By C. INOSTRANTSEV

A mistake of the late B. Dorn, in his Catalogue of the MSS. of the Public Library, has been found. He has marked as 'Marâkhiiâ' the name of Omar Khayyâm, author of the Quatrains, the celebrated Persian poet, mystic and mathematician. This misunderstanding was due to the very complicated way of writing the cryptograms. The second half of the word, especially the last letter *mîm*, was written above the first half, and the end of the second half was read *b=yâ* by the author of the Catalogue making up the whole as *بایه*, 'Marâkhiiâ'. We know that the correct reading was found out afterwards. It is interesting to note that in this writing of the poet's surname, there is something more than the usual calligraphy, a cryptogram.

We know that in the Islamic palæography, out of the benedictory formula, *بِ الْحَمْدِ* (accusative of place : "in the place of compassion"), the word 'Muhammad' is evolved, by writing the first half of the word above the second. What an answer to the benediction! It is thus written *مُحَمَّد*, the first letter *mîm* of the word is written from above, the *hâ* and the second *mîm* are in their proper place, and the final *dâl* is made up of *râ* and *alif*, the *tashdîd* being taken as understood.

In the case of 'Marâkhiiâ', not the first but the second half of the word is placed above and we have the form *مَرَخِيَّة*, the end of the final letter *mîm*, which is also the end of the word, is not written as usual, but with the upper part slightly curved, a fact by which we are parti-

cularly inclined to see in this cryptogram not one letter, *mîm* only, but two letters, *mîm* and *râ*. Following the method adopted in deciphering the benedictory formula mentioned above, we take the letter *mîm*, standing above at the commencement of the cryptogram, as the first letter, the letters *khâ* and *yâ* may retain their places, and the *alif* and the end of *mîm* make up the letter *lâm*, ending the word. At the opening of the cryptogram we have thus the word مُخَيْلٌ, *mukhaiyil*, the *tashdîd* being understood as certainly indicated by the *scriptio plena*.

This explanation will probably bring to an end the discussion as regards the excusable mistake of this revered scholar, so often mentioned, and it will show how the celebrated poet and free-thinker has received, owing to a mistaken reading of the cryptogram, the surname of "the visionary" (such is the signification of the word مُخَيْلٌ) from a decipherer more orthodox than he !

ASSYRIAN STONE-RELIEF INSCRIPTION IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM, STOCKHOLM

THE STANDARD INSCRIPTION OF ASHUR-NASIR-PAL

By G. L. MUNTHE

The photograph facing p. 64 and the translation given here of the Assyrian Stone Relief Inscription in the National Museum of Stockholm were forwarded by Mr. G. L. Munthe through Mr. Jamshedji Edalji Saklatwala to the late Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi. The stone belonged to the palace of Ashur-Nasir-Pal in Nimrud, near Nineveh. There is a winged divinity standing between two holy trees, and a wedge-inscription, the so called standard inscription of Ashur-Nasir-Pal, at the lower part of the stones.—EDITOR.

- (1) The palace of Ashur-Nasir-Pal, the priest of Ashur, the darling of Bēl and Ninit, the beloved of Anu and Dagan, the strong one among the gods, the mighty king, the king of hosts, the king of Assyria, the son of Tukulti Ninib, the great king, the mighty king, the king of hosts,
- (2) the king of Assyria, the son of Adadnirari, the great king, the mighty king, the king of hosts, the king of Assyria; the valiant hero, who with the help of Ashur, his lord, proceedeth, and among the princes of the four quarters (of the world) hath not a rival; the wonderful shepherd,
- (3) who feareth not the battle; the mighty flood who hath not an opponent; the king who hath brought to subjection those that were not subject unto him, and hath conquered all the hosts of men; the mighty hero, who hath trampled on
- (4) the neck of his foes, and hath trodden down all enemies, and hath shattered the power of the strong; the king who with the help of the great gods, his lords, proceedeth, and whose hand hath captured all lands; who hath conquered all the highlands

(5) and hath received their tribute taking hostages and establishing might over all countries! When

(6) Ashur, the lord who called me by my name and hath made great my kingdom, entrusted his merciless weapon unto my lordly power, the wide-spread troops of the land of Lullumê

(7) I overthrew in battle. With the help of Shamash and Adad, the gods my helpers, over the troops of the lands of Nairi, and of Kirkhi, and of Shubarê, and of Nirib, like Adad,

(8) the destroyer, I thundered (I am) the king, who, from beyond the Tigris even to Mount Lebanon and the Great Sea, the whole of the land of Lakê and the land of Sukhi, together with the city of Rapibi, hath cast into subjection under his feet,

(9) and (the territory) from the source of the river Subuat even to the land of Urarti hath conquered with his hand (the region) from the pass of Kirruri even to the land of Gilzani, and from beyond the Lower Zab

(10) even to the city of Til-bâri, which is above the land of Zaban, and from the city of Til-sha-abtâni and the city of Til-sha-Zabdâni, and the cities of Khirmi and Kharutu, the fortresses

(11) of the land of Kurduniash, I have added unto the border of my land, and (the inhabitants of the countries from the pass of Babite even to the land of Khashmar I have reckoned as the peoples of my land. In the lands which I have conquered I have appointed my governors,

(12) and vassalage, and service (I have laid upon them). Ashur-Nasir-Pal, the exalted prince, the worshipper of the great gods, the courageous ruler, the conqueror of all cities and highlands, the king of lords, the consumer

(13) of the wicked, who is crowned with splendour, who feareth not the battle, the supreme, the merciless, the destroyer of opposition, the exalted king, the shepherd,



THE STANDARD INSCRIPTION OF ASHUR-NASIR-PAL.

the protector of the (four) quarters of the world, the king,
the word of whose mouth destroyeth mountains

(14) and seas, who by his lordly attack hath forced
mighty and merciless kings from the rising of the sun
unto the setting of the same to acknowledge one supre-
macy. The former city of Calah,

(15) which Shalmaneser, the king of Assyria who preceded
me, had built, that city had fallen into decay and lay
prostrate. That city I built anew, and the peoples whom
my hand had conquered from the lands

(16) which I had subdued, from the land of Sukhi, and
from the whole of the land of Lakê and from the
city of Sirku on the other side of the Euphrates, and
from all the land of Zamna, and from Bit-Adini and the
land of Khatte,

(17) and from Lubarna of the land of Patini, I took
and I settled them therein. The ancient mound I altered
and I dug down to the level of the water, and for one
hundred and twenty measures into the depth

(18) I descended. A palace of cedar and a palace of
cypress, and a palace of juniper, and a palace of urka-
rinnu-wood, and a palace of miskannu-wood, and a palace
of pistachio wood, and a palace of tamarisk,

(19) for my royal dwelling and for my lordly pleasure
for ever I founded therein. And beasts of the mountains
and of the seas of white limestone

(20) and alabaster I fashioned, and in the gates there-
of I set them up, and I adorned it, and I made it glorious,
and with fastening bolts of bronze I secured it; and doors
of cedar and of cypress,

(21) and of juniper, and of miskannu-wood in the gates
thereof I fixed in place; and silver and gold and lead
and bronze, and iron, the spoil of my hand from the lands

(22) which I conquered, in great quantities I took and
I placed therein.

A LETTER OF ARTABAN III TO THE CITY OF SUSA

BY FRANZ CUMONT

[*Extrait des Comptes rendus des Séances de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1932, p. 288 et seq.]

*Translated by Dr. Jamshed Manekji Unvala, Ph.D.,
(Heidelberg), Ancien Élève de l'École de Louvre, Paris.*

Excavations on the southern extremity of the Royal City of ancient Susa, called the Dungeon by Mr. Dieulafoy, carried on by Mr. R. de Mecquenem, Director of the French Archaeological Mission of Susiana since 1927, have brought to light the foundations of thick walls and courts of a big Sassanian edifice, in which large blocks of stone were freely employed. They appertained to constructions and sculptural monuments of earlier epochs of the history of Susa, mostly Achaemenian, Seleucid, and Parthian. Among them were fragments of bases of columns, some of them bearing trilingual cuneiform inscriptions of Darius I the Great, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes II Mnemon, and those of bas-reliefs of archers, of a griffon, and of a female slave carrying a duck, similar to the famous bas-reliefs of Persepolis, and those of monumental inscriptions, like the inscription concerning the construction of the palace of Darius I at Susa, all of them pertaining to an Achaemenian palace, and those of statues and Greek inscriptions of the Seleucid and Parthian epochs. Several fragments of inscriptions of the great Elamite conqueror Shutruk Nakhunte, about 1150 B.C., were also found there. Rev. Father V. Scheil, the eminent French Assyriologist, laid last week the

results of his studies of all these cuneiform inscriptions, embodied in the XXIVth volume of 'Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique de Perse', before the French 'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres'. We shall place before the Parsi community an excerpt of this volume with critical notes in the near future, as we have done in our Ancient Persian Inscriptions of the Achæmenides found at Susa, Paris 1929. We shall speak here only of Greek inscriptions, which, though fragmentary, are very interesting, as they reveal to us the little known history of Susa during the Parthian period, its civil administration and the religion of its inhabitants. We learn from them that during the first century of the Christian era Susa was subject to the Parthian King of Kings, who governed it through a satrap appointed by him, although the *boule* or the municipality of the city enjoyed a sort of self-government on the Greek basis. We know that the Parthian kings proudly called themselves *philhellenes* on their coins. This was not a vain title which they took. They were under the influence of the Greek civilisation which was introduced into the East with the conquest of Alexander the Great and which flourished there during the whole of the Seleucid period. They were in fact the continuators of the traditions of the Seleucids. This influence is better known as Hellenism in the history of the centuries which preceded and followed the Christian era. It has left its traces in lands as far apart from one another as Syria and India. Greek art and Greek literature flourished at the court of the Parthian kings, some of whom spoke Greek fluently like Vardanes I, and some even composed works in Greek like Orodes I. On the authority of Dio Cassius and Herodian we can say that Greek was employed in diplomatic intercourse between the Parthians and the Romans. It was the language of the Parthian

chancellery, as we know from the letter of Artaban III (10/11-40 A.D.) which is written in excellent Greek and with correct Greek legal terms. We know also that this philhellenism had cost some feeble kings their throne, and that it was this *xénophile* tendency of the later Parthians which had provoked the rebellion of Artaxerxes of Perses, Ardasir Bâbakân, against Artaban V, as the Parthian people always remained Iranian at heart. Further, we know from some recently discovered Greek inscriptions that Susa was practically a Greek city during the first century of the Christian era, and that it even boasted of a stadium which was a gift to the city from an athlete, as we learn from an inscription discovered at Susa this year. It had erected the famous temple to Nana or Nanaïa, the goddess of fertility and fecundity, who was worshipped there under her Greek name Artemis. Her brother Apollo also enjoyed a local cult. Apollo Toxophoros, *i.e.*, archer is represented on the reverse of a copper coin of Mithridates III, struck probably at Susa. This motive of the reverse is borrowed from the coins of Antiochos II of Syria. The statues of this divine pair were erected in temples, which contained immense treasures, distinct from those of the city and administered as at Doura-Eropos by a *gazophylax* or treasurer. Male and female slaves were consecrated by their masters to these deities for a definite period of thirty years, some even perhaps for life. Once consecrated they became irreclaimable either by their masters or by their descendants or by any person under any pretext whatsoever; if they were reclaimed the defaulter had to pay a fine of three thousand silver drachms to the treasury of the temples which enjoyed a financial autonomy. Marble and bronze statues of deserving citizens were erected in public places, and their names and praiseworthy works were inscribed on their pedestals.

After these introductory remarks we give below the letter of Artaban III and a summary of it and of other Greek inscriptions discovered at Susa in recent years. The letter of Artaban III was discovered, as it is said above, in the foundations of walls of a Sassanian edifice. It is inscribed on a rectangular block of limestone, broken at the right corner, whose actual size is 65 cm. long, 22 cm. high, and 16 cm. thick. It is the longest Greek inscription ever found at Susa, and even in the whole of Persia. It is a unique lapidary document directly connected with a Parthian king; and therein lies its importance. The size of letters varies between seven and four millimetres. The inscription is so neatly engraved that the artist signs it proudly, Leonidas, son of Artemon of Seleucia on the Eulaios, i.e., Susa. The limestone block formed part of the pedestal of a bronze or marble statue of Hestiaios Asios, erected by his father Demetrios in 25/26 A.D. in order to commemorate the confirmation of the election of the former as treasurer and one of the *archontes* or magistrates of Susa by Artaban III, the event which forms the subject of the letter in question. The following is a translation of the letter:

"Received in the year 268 according to the Royal Era, in the year 333 (= 21/22 A.D.) according to ancient era.

"The King of Kings Arsaces sends his greetings to Antiochos and Phraates, residing at Susa, to the magistrates and to the City;

"Considering that Hestiaios, son of Asios, who is one of your citizens, and one of the first and the most esteemed friends, and one of the body-guards, having exercised the charge of treasurer in the year 329 (= 17/18 A.D.) according to the ancient reckoning, and having

behaved himself in this function correctly, and very justly, and with thorough integrity, not avoiding any personal expense in the expenditure incurred for the City;

"That twice during his magistrature the city having the necessity of sending an ambassador, he absented himself from the City, considering as of no consequence the care of his own affairs, and esteeming those of the City more important, and considering that, saving neither pains nor money he devoted himself without reserve to the first and to the second embassies, and having negotiated to the advantage of his native City he obtained appropriate honours, as the decree voted in his favour in the year 330 (= 18/19 A.D.) attests;

"That in the year 331 (= 19/20 A.D.), when there was need of an honest man, he was proposed as candidate for the same office for the year 332 (= 20/21 A.D.), and that after a prolonged *docimacie*, Petasos, son of Antiochos, who was elected *archontes* with Aristomenes, son of Philippe, presenting himself in the *boule* alleged that in virtue of the established laws (rules!) it was prohibited that he should occupy the same magistrature twice without leaving an interval of three years;

"But that the City having had the experience of his good intentions and remembering his administration of the above-mentioned office, decided to elect him as *archontes* and that in consequence he was elected for the year 332 (= 20/21 A.D.), which was of Petasos, son of Antiochos, and of Aristomenes, son of Philippe;

"Considering therefore that, in view of the facts cited above Hestiaios is unjustly accused, we judge that his election is valid, and that he should neither be wrongly prosecuted for occupying the same office without allowing an interval of three years, nor in virtue of any ordinance whatsoever, which might be produced in this matter, all

interdiction or inquest having been, in general, set aside, particularly that which was launched against him should be abrogated.

"The 17th day of Audnaios 268 (= December 21).

"(*Below*) This statue of Hestiaios Asios, son of Demetrios, alias Eisagôgeus, is erected by his father in the year 337 according to the ancient reckoning (25/26 A.D.)

"Lénidas, son of Artemon of Seleucie on the Eulaios (*i.e.*, Susa) has engraved this stone."

The King of Kings Arsaces (Artaban III) addresses this letter to Antiochos and Phraates, the satrap and the strategos, residing at Susa, to the *archontes* and to the *boule* or the municipality of the city of Susa, in the year 330 of the Seleucid era, corresponding to the year 268 of the Arsacid era, and to 21/22 A.D., in which he dismisses the charge of illegal tenure of the office of treasurer brought against Hestiaios Asios, son of Demetrios, alias Eisagoras. Hestiaios is not only a distinguished citizen of Susa, writes the King of Kings, but he is also one of the *protoi phili*, *i.e.*, the most esteemed friends, and one of his body-guards. He was elected to the office of treasurer in 329 A. Sel. = 17/18 A.D., in which he distinguished himself by his honesty and integrity; he even contributed occasionally to the civic expenditure from his personal resources. Twice during his tenure of office he was entrusted with an embassy, which he, considering it his important duty towards his native city, willingly accepted, setting aside his own personal affairs and interest, and carried it to a successful end, sparing neither pains nor money. On his return to Susa he received appropriate honours from the city, as the decree voted in his favour in 330 A. Sel. = 18/19 A.D. attested. In 331 A. Sel. = 19/20 A.D., when the city required the

services of an honest man, he was again proposed as candidate for treasurership for 332 A. Sel. = 20/21 A.D. But after a long *dokimacia* or enquiry into the validity of the candidature, Petasos, son of Antiochos, who was elected *archontes* with Aristomenes, son of Philip, contested it in the *boule* on the ground that, according to the established laws of the city, Hestiaios could not occupy the same office twice without leaving an interval of three years between each tenure. Nevertheless the city elected him for the office for 332 A. Sel. = 20/21 A.D., as it had experienced his good intentions and able administration. Now, the King of Kings taking into consideration all these facts, declares the charge brought against Hestiaios to be unjust and confirms his election; further, he forbids bringing against him any charge whatsoever in virtue of the above-mentioned or any other law, and stops all legal action that might have been already taken against him. This royal letter is dated the seventeenth day of the month of Audnaios of the year 268 of the Arsacid era, corresponding to the 21st of December 21/22 A.D.

This letter is very important, as it shows us the civil administration of Susa during the little known Parthian epoch. Like Seleucia and Doura-Eropos Susa had also a *boule* which had the right to propose candidates for magistrature. The magistrates who bore the title of *archontes* formed a directorate with executive powers. One of them was the treasurer. A magistrate could not be re-elected, unless there was an interval of three years between two successive tenures of office. The King of Kings was staying at his winter residence of Ctesiphon in the month of Audnaios, when the *epistates*, who was appointed commissioner by him for controlling the municipal administration of Susa, laid before him the case of Hestiaios. The *psephisma* or decree voted by the *boule* was attached to it. The

king gives his above-mentioned decision on the legal question quite arbitrarily, as the Cæsars did before him by their *epistulae*. In this he shows himself very energetic, a trait of character attributed to him by historians. Moreover, this letter confirms Strabo who says that during his time—commencement of the first century A.D.—the district of Susiana was directly subject to the Parthians, whereas the mountainous region of the Elymais was a vassal state. Another important fact is the mention of two eras side by side, the Seleucid era or as it is called here the ancient era, beginning with autumn, 1st of October 312 B.C., and the Arsacid era or the royal era, beginning with spring 248/7 B.C., as on the Pahlavi parchment from Avroman. Further, the names of the persons mentioned in this letter are Greek and Macedonian.

Other Greek inscriptions discovered in the foundations of the walls and courts of the Sassanian edifice appertained to the temple of Artemis-Nanaia, as their contents show. One inscription was engraved on the pedestal of a statue of Apollo, which was consecrated to the god by Chereas, and was placed probably in the temple of Artemis, his twin-sister. It was a local work of art. The god was represented as he appeared to Antigona, wife of Chereas, in a dream in order to save her and her daughter Clio from some danger.

We have said above that male and female slaves were consecrated to Nanaia, the goddess of fertility and fecundity, for a specific period of thirty years. The following inscription of the time of Mithridates I proves this custom: In the year 171 A. Sel. = 142/141 B.C., in the month ... Straton, son of Simias, has consecrated to the goddess Nanaia Kan ... his young female servant upto the period of thirty years for the welfare of the

king and the queen, and that it is not permitted that either Straton or anybody else in his place should reclaim or sell the above-mentioned slave under any pretext whatever. If he does this, his action is not valid, and he should pay three thousand silver drachmes as fine to the temple of Nanaia. Another inscription says that Eulaios, son of Olympios, had consecrated his slave Scorpion to Nanaia in the time of Antiochos IV Epiphanes (175-164 B.C.) in the fulfilment of a vow taken for the welfare of King Antiochos and Queen Laodice. Another inscription of the time of Mithridates I is of a similar nature. The absence of the Arsacid date on these two inscriptions shows that the authority of the Parthians was not recognised at Susa which remained faithful to its native kings during the second century B.C. Finally, it is interesting to note that the legal formula of the consecration of slaves is the same as that which was prevalent in ancient Babylonia.

GIFT OF ARTICLES OF ANTIQUITY
EXCAVATED AT SUSA BY M^R. R. DE
MECQUEENEM

BY DR. JAMSHED M. UNVALA, PH.D.,
Ancient Élève de l'École de Louvre, Paris

[It is to be regretted that Dr. Jamshed Manekji Unvala's letter dated the 15th September, 1932 and the list prepared by him of articles presented by Mr. R. de Mecquenem remained unpublished upto now. The articles are given as a loan to the Prince of Wales Museum until the time that a Parsi Museum comes into existence.—EDITOR.]

Mr. R. de Mecquenem, head of the French Mission, under whose kind guidance Dr. Jamshed Manekji Unvala has worked for four winter-seasons at Susa, has kindly presented to the Parsi Community about 134 articles of antiquity, some of which were excavated by Dr. Unvala. They are deposited for the present in the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, which, I think, will be very glad to transfer them to a Parsi Museum when started in future in Bombay. At my request, Dr. Unvala has kindly prepared a list of these articles. I beg to thank Dr. Unvala for kindly complying with my request. I hope that the list will interest archaeologists and antiquarians. I take this opportunity to thank Mr. R. de Mecquenem for this presentation and for the presentation made about five years ago. As I had the pleasure and the good fortune to collect funds to send Dr. Unvala to France for archaeological studies, I take this opportunity to thank Mr. R. de Mecquenem for his kindness in giving all the necessary help to Dr. Unvala in his studies and in his practical work of excavation. With these few words of thanks, I give here Dr. Unvala's account and list of the articles.

JIVANJI JAMSHEDJEE MODI,

Editor.

Bombay,
20th September, 1932.

[Dr. J. M. Unvala's letter to Dr. Jivanji
Jamshedji Modi]

Mariampura,

Navsari, 15th September, 1932.

To

SIR JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI,

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209, HORNBY ROAD, FORT, BOMBAY.

DEAR SIR,

With reference to your letter of the 29th August 1932 I beg to send you herewith a list of 134 objects presented this year by Mr. R. de Mecquenem to the Parsi Community from archaeological finds made at Susa. I have grouped them according to the periods to which they appertained, following therein Mr. de Mecquenem, and mentioned the materials of which they are made. The grouping under few heads, e.g., 1) lamps, 2) figures, 3) cups, etc., as you have proposed in the above-mentioned letter is not practicable, 1) as in that case it would be necessary to mention the date of every object individually, and 2) as there would be no end of groups, because the objects are many and various. The numbers mentioned in this list correspond to those marked in pencil on every object; in the case of fragments the numbers are marked on the paper in which they are wrapped. The numbering was made hastily two days before the anniversary of the late Mr. K. R. Cama, while I was unpacking the three boxes of antiquities.

Now as regards the provenance of these objects, those mentioned in the groups I and III were discovered

on the Tell of the Acropolis, that mentioned in the group II on the Tepe Jafarabad, situated five miles to the north-west of Susa, those mentioned in the groups IV-IX on the Tell of the Royal City, and those mentioned in the groups X-XII in the City of Artisans.

The seven bricks (Nos. 1-7) of Elamite kings record in Babylonian foundations of temples and sanctuaries in Susa dedicated to In-Shushinak, the chief god of the Elamites and the tutelary god of Susa. They are published by Rev. Father V. Scheil in the 'Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique de Perse.' The objects pertaining to the Arab period were discovered in houses excavated in the so-called Arab City, a suburb of ancient Susa, situated to its east. The fragments of bowls and plates (Nos. 112-124) and glass dishes and phials (Nos. 73-77) were discovered in drainage-wells. All other objects pertaining to different periods of the history of Susa were discovered in tombs. They were used as funeral furniture—*mobilier funéraire*:—vases, bowls, and cups contained probably food and drink for the dead; lamps lighted their way to the other world; stone, copper, and iron weapons belonged to warriors and were buried with them in their graves; similar is the case of articles of toilet and personal ornaments; the fact that terracotta figurines are always discovered in tombs of children would explain their use as toys rather than as votive objects or as objects of cult. The big goblets of the period Susa I (Nos. 8-9) were discovered in the funeral tumulus on the south-west extremity of the Tell of the Acropolis. They were used as receptacles for big bones at the time of the second burial of the dead. Finally it is interesting to note that all objects pertaining to the Sassanian period were found in 'astôdân' discovered in 1931 and 1932 in the City of Artisans.

LIST OF ANTIQUITIES
 PRESENTED BY MR. R. DE MECQUELEM
 TO THE PARSI COMMUNITY
 IN 1932

GROUP I

Susa I dated about 4000 B.C.

No.	8	Fragments of a big goblet painted terra cotta			
"	9	" "	"	"	"
"	10	small cup	"	"	"
"	11	small krater	"	"	"
Nos.	90-91	figurines of birds	"	"	"
"	127	fragments of a big vase			red terra cotta
"	130	fragments of a big plate			" " "
"	23	big axe			white sand-stone

GROUP II

Susa I bis roughly dated about 3500 B.C.

No.	126	fragments of a vase from Tepe Jafarabad			painted terra cotta
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GROUP III

Susa II dated about 3000 B.C.

No.	13	small vase			painted terra cotta
"	14	fragment of a small vase			" " "
"	12	cylindrical vase			" " "
"	97	head of a bull forming spout of a vase			" " "
"	15	fragment of a small vase			black stone
"	16	fragment of a small cup			aronite
"	17	small krater			"
"	24	bowl			"
"	18	mace-head			black stone
"	19	" "			red "
"	20	" "			grey "

No.	21	head of a staff	reddish stone
"	22	small axe	black polished stone
"	25	big lozenge bead	aragonite
"	26	whorl not pierced	"
"	27	whorl	black stone
"	133-134	whorls	terra cotta

GROUP IV

Dynasty of Simat about 2500-2300 B.C.

No.	93	handle of a vase with a human bust roughly designed in low relief	terra cotta
"	28	mirror	copper
"	29	sickle	"
Nos.	30-31	poniards	"

GROUP V

Hammurabi 2050 B.C.

No.	32	vase	red slip terra cotta
Nos.	78-83	female figurines	" "

GROUP VI

Elamite XVIth to IXth century B.C.

No.	1	brick of Kuk-Kirpiash	
"	2	" " Kutir-Nakhunte	
"	3-4	bricks of Untash-Gal	
"	5-6	" " Shutruk-Nakhunte	
"	7	brick of Addapakshu	
"	33	globular vase	terra cotta
"	34	small vase—broken	" "
"	35	twin vases	" "
"	36	dish	" "
"	37	saucer	" "
"	104	fragments of a bowl	" "
"	84-85	female figurines	" "

Nos. 86-87	figurines of musicians	terra cotta
" 88-89	fragments of toy beds with a couple	" "
" 92	figurine of a bull	" "
" 98	rattle	" "
" 38	handle of an instrument	aronite
" 69	bracelet	copper
" 103	fragments of a cup	"

GROUP VII

Neo-Babylonian 840-640 B.C.

Nos. 39-43	small vases	glazed terra cotta
" 125	fragments of a vase	" " "

GROUP VIII

Achæmenian

No. 99	mystic eye of Horus or <i>Ujâ</i>	glazed terra cotta
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GROUP IX

Greek

Nos. 105-106	fragments of a lamp and a vase with designs in red on black polished surface	terra cotta
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GROUP X

Parthian

No. 44	pitcher—broken	terra cotta
" 94	head of a female figurine	" "
" 95	fragment of a male figurine	painted terra cotta
" 60	fragment of a small vase	alabaster

GROUP XI

Sassanian

Nos. 45-49	big vases	glazed terra cotta
" 54	big water-bottle	" " "

No.	55	small flat water-bottle	glazed terra cotta
"	107-111	fragments of vases	" " "
"	128	fragments of vases	" " "
"	56-58	lamps	" " "
"	129	fragments of bowls	red "
"	131	fragments of a vase with engraved designs	black terra cotta
"	50-53	big vases	terra cotta
"	59	lamp	" "
"	102	lamp	" "
"	96	head of a figurine of a horse	" "
"	100-101	bowls	fine "
"	132	triangular support for vases	" "
"	63	poniard	iron
"	72	arrow-head	copper

GROUP XII

Arab

Nos.	112-124	fragments of bowls and plates with floral and geometric designs	glazed terra cotta
"	61-62	pitchers	" " "
"	64	pitcher with lid	copper
"	65	lid of a pitcher with chain	"
"	66	handle of a pitcher	"
"	67	lamp	"
"	68	cup	"
"	70	fragment of a spoon	"
"	71	small bell	"
"	73	small dish	glass
"	74-77	phials	"

ZARATHUSTRA OR YUDHİSTHIRA— WHICH IS THE COPY ?

By JAINATH PATI

When about the beginning of the year 1915, Dr. Spoo-
ner started the theory of a Parsi invasion of Behar, and
in the course of the discussion, brought together the
names of Yudhiṣṭhīra and the Persian prophet Zarathus-
tra, the similarity in the sounds of the names, led me to
investigate the question of any suspected connexion be-
tween the two. I found that their traditional biographies
had many details identical in them. For example :

(i) Zarathustra was a worshipper of Ahura (Sk.
Asura) and so might be said to belong to the tribe known
to Indians as Asuras in the Vedic and Puranic literature.
Yudhiṣṭhīra was also connected with the Asuras through
his female ancestors : Devyāṇī, the daughter of Śukrācārya,
the high-priest of the Asuras, and Śarmiṣṭhā, the daugh-
ter of the Asura king. Later this connexion was found
to be still closer. Śukrācārya's ancient name was Kavi
Uśanas, who had long before been found to be identical
with Kava Usa (later form Kai-Kaus) of Persia. He is there
known as a great ancient king, having blood-connexion
with Zarathustra's ancestors.

(ii) Both were known to have descended from one
Puru (Iranian original form 'Pourus').

(iii) Both had five brothers.

(iv) Both could talk and understand the Mlecha
tongue (MBh, I, 148 ch).¹

(v) Zarathustra was a pupil of one Burzin-Kurus
(the Great Kurus?), whom Pliny knew as Agnaces

1. The abbreviations are explained at the end.

(Azonaces), (Sk. Angiras?), while Yudhisthira was a Kuru himself and the pupil of Angiras Dronâcârya.

(vi) Both were known in their younger days to have been attempted to be burnt alive but saved miraculously.

(vii) The names of the friends and enemies of both were found to be similar. Mâdhava-Krṣṇa-candra of Yudhisthira=Maidyoī-mâonh (=Madhyamâs) of Zarathustra (=middle-moon = dark-moon = Sk. Krṣṇa-candra); Duryodhana, Dusṣāsana of Yudhisthira, comparable to Dussasti, Durâsrôb (or Durâsrûn) of Zarathustra.

(viii) Both were famous for their strict regard for truth.

(ix) While the followers of Zarathustra had and still have the greatest regard for the dog, Yudhisthira would refuse to enter heaven without the dog.

(x) The religions of both were anti-Vedic; that of Zarathustra as represented by his Gâthâs and to some extent the later Avesta; while Yudhisthira, being known to have been a follower of Krṣṇa, must be taken to be a Bhâgvat. (Bhagvatism or Pañcrâtra was originally an anti-Vedic religion.¹) Even the much syncretic and therefore diluted form of his faith as preserved to us in the Bhagvad-gîtâ (the Song of Bhaga, the Lord Asura of the Parsis) has unconcealed flings at the followers of the Vedic religion:—

Yâmimâm puśpitâm vâcam pravadantyavipaścitah
Veda-vâda-ratâh Pârtha “nânyadasti”ti vâdinah, 42

* * * * *

Trai-gunya-visyâ vedâ nistrâigunyo bhav Ârjuna. 45
(ab)
(Gîtâ, II).

1. See Chanda, 'The Indo-Aryan Races,' p. 69.

"O Pârtha (Parthian?)¹ fools, addicted to Vedic discussions, talk glibly (in) dark and flowery phrases, (*i.e.*,) those-who-say, 'there is nothing beyond it (the Vedas)'."

* * *

"(As a matter of fact) the Vedas are materialistic, dealing with objects connected with the three gunas (active, slothful and balanced states of the mind). You should be unthree-gunaik, (a non-Vedist), O Arjuna!"

The transformation in Persia of God Indra into the demon Andra, compared with the victorious fight of

1 It is to be remembered that this suggestion in the bracket is supported by other facts. Pându itself meaning white (Ind. Alt., I, 655 f. n. 1), sveta (Av. spaeta), directly connecting him with the surname, Spitamâ, the greatest of the Spitas (?), of Zarathustra. Arjuna, another of the 'Whites', itself means white, and his other name Kirîtin, the wearer of a diadem, (Gitâ, 11,85) is not explicable through Sanskrit, but according to Lassen, being connected with the old Pers. Tiara, accords well with other Iranian affinities of these people. So are the names, Balhika, one of Yudhishthira's ancestors, Prithâ, Yudhishthira's mother, Bahlikâ, another possible name of Mâdri, Arjuna's stepmother, and Parâsavi (Ind. Alt. I, p. 685), Vidura's wife, *i.e.*, the aunt of the Pândavas. It is in all this connection that we shall find further on that the religion of Kršna (Pañcrâtra) is said to have been imported from the White Island, near Meru (Merv) in Central Asia. This is called Śâka dvipa in the Bhavisya Purâna and the Govindpura Inscription without doubt referring to Scythia or the lands west of the Caspian Sea. (Ind. Alt. I, pp. 652-3). In this connection, further, are to be remembered the Gaurmukhas (the 'White-faced ones') of the Mahâbhârata and the Bhavisya Purâna. In the former (I, 50) it is said that Parîksit died because he insulted a mauna rsi (another Parsi feature according to the Bhavisya P. (?)) of that name (see below pages 99f.). In the latter it is said that it was another (or the same?) rsi of that name who gave the correct information regarding the Zoroastrians to Śamba, Kršna's son. These facts make me regard the rsi to be a Zoroastrian. Kršna's ensign was the Garuda (eagle); Visnu is garuda-dhvaja. The ensign of the old Persian kings was also an eagle. "Garuda is represented ... as having a white face, an aquiline nose, red wings and a golden body" (Apte's Dictionary, p. 182), almost exactly like the representation of the frôhar (?) of Ahura Mazdâ in the inscription of Darius. Garo-demâna is the seat of Mazdâ (Gâthâ, Y. 45,8).

Kṛṣṇa (of the Purāṇas) with the unconquerable Indra of the R̥gveda, has too obvious implications to be passed over lightly.

(xi) In Irān, baga (Sk. bhaga) meant a god in general (in the Avesta as well as in the inscriptions of Darius). In India, (in the Vedic literature, particularly the R̥gveda,) it is the name of a particular god. Among the followers of Kṛṣṇa, we find the Iranian meaning as applied to him, and thereby to his religion, the Bhāgvad-dharma; to his revelation, the Bhāgvad-gītā, and lastly to his followers, the Bhāgvatas. Compare the inscription on the famous Garudasthambha near Gwalior. It appears as though of the three synonyms, Ahura (asura), yazata (yajata), and baga (bhaga) the Kṛṣṇaites chose the least objectionable term ‘baga’ (Sk. Bhaga) to denote their Lord, to avoid as much the asura of hateful associations to the Indians, as the deva and yajata to the Zoroastrians of the first period of that faith. The suffix ‘vat’ was added, meseems, simply to distinguish Mādhava from the current name of the innocent god Bhaga, for I have shown elsewhere that Mazdāo is the Avestan etymological equivalent of Mādhavah, or may be, Mādhava is the loan form of the Iranian Mazdāo (LLL, p. 201 fn., etc.). Anyhow the new meaning given to ‘Bhaga’ in ‘Bhāgvat’ presents now a different scene to me, a second cultural invasion of India by the Iranian Kṛṣṇa, the disciple of the Terrible Angiras, i.e., Zarathustra, referred to in the Chāndogya (iii. 17. 6). Then it only showed the connection to be deeper.

(xii) The most decisive features of Kṛṣṇa’s teachings, as much distinguishing them from the whole of the Vedic religion, including within it the teachings of the Upaniṣads (RPV, pp. 468-584), as identifying them with those of Zarathustra, are (i) their insistence on the necessity of the individual’s performing right actions,

doing his duty and that as an offering to God, (ii) a belief in Avatāra and personal teaching by Him at a crisis of the world caused by evil, (iii) the utmost regard, verging on worship, shown to the cow, and (iv) the most important characteristic of Zoroastrianism, which distinguishes it even now from all other older systems of faiths and philosophies is its promulgation of the doctrine of duality as the explanation of evil in this world. This was originally a mental duality, 'mainyū' ("dual mentalities," Gāthā, 30, 3), but later developed also into physical. Strangely enough, the same is found in Bhagvatism also. All these appear clear as daylight from the passages quoted below :—

(1)

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Yōi mōi ahmāi se-
raōsem dāncayaścā
Upā-jimen haurvātā
ameretātā

Vanhēus manyēus
ṣyaōthanāis (Yas.
45, 5cde)

Those who render
me obedience with
the deeds of good
mind, attain com-
pleteness and im-
mortality.

Yā ṣyaōthanā, yā
vacan̄hā, yā yas-
nā * * * *

Aēsām tōi Ahurā
ēhmā pourutemāis
dastē (Yas. 34,
1,ac)

KRŚNA'S

Yogastha kuru
karmāṇī sangam
tyaktvā Dhanan-
jaya, (Gītā, ii, 48ab)

Do your duty, O
Dhananjaya, es-
tablished in yoga and
renouncing attach-
ment (mentally to
the results).

Yatkarosi yadaśnāsi
yajjuhoṣi dadāsi
yat yattapasyasi
Kaunteya taiku-
ruṣva madarpaṇam
Śubhāśubha phala-
irevam mokṣyase
karmabandhnaiḥ
Sanyāsyoga-yuktā-
tmā vimukto mām

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"In the strict
sense of the word
there is no theory
of ethics in the
Brāhmaṇalitera-
ture: the question
of the nature
of right action
does not seem
ever to have in
any degree influ-
enced the specula-
tions of the
curious spirits
(the Brahmins)".
* * * *

"The contrast
here between In-
dian and Iranian
development be-
comes marked.
"Almost contem-
poraneously, per-
haps, with the
development of

ZARATHUSTRA'S

With the deeds, words, and sacrifices.

* * * *
 (All these) are offered by us among the foremost to Thee, O Lord!

KRSNA'S

upaisyasi.
 (ibid., 9,27-8.)

Whatever thou doest, eatest, invokest, or givest, or austerities undergoest,

Offer all of them to Me, O Son of Kunti.

In this manner wilt thou be freed from good and bad fruits as well as the bondages of action.

Having thy soul allied to Yoga of Renunciation, thou wilt reach Me, being freed.

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the thought of the Brâhmañas we find Zoroaster engaged in deepening the meaning of religion for the people of Iran and founding a reasoned, ethical system." (Keith, 'Religion and Philosophy of the Vedas,' p. 468).

Again, "In comparison with the intellectual activity of the Brâhmañas the ethical content of the Upanisads must be said to be negligible and valueless. * * *

"On the contrary, the essential fact is expressed by Indra in his dialogue with Partardan: the possession of knowledge makes a man independent of all morality, the slaying of an embryo, the murder of a father or of a mother." (ibid., pp. 584-5; Kausîtaki Up. iii. i). Though the fear

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KRŚNA'S

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of sin is clearly expressed in the Rgveda, the idea of duty as an offering to God is absent from the Vedic literature.

(2)

In Yasna 29 is described the deputation of Zarathustra in response to the supplication of the cow. Again,

Akēm akāi vānu-
him aśim vān-
haōvē
Thwā hunarā dāmōis
urvaēsē apēmē.
Yahmī spēntā thwā
mainyū urvaēsē
jasō (Yas. 43.
5de, 6a.)

A bad (compensation) for the bad, and a good compensation for the good;

(Which is to occur) with Thy skill at the last crisis of creation;

At which crisis come Thou, O Mazdā (mindful), with Thy Spenta Mainyu (bounteous

Paritrāṇāya Sādhu-
nām vināśaya
ca duṣkṛtām,
Dharmaśāṇsthāpa-
nārthāya sam-
bhavāmi yuge
yuge.

(Gītā, 4, 8.)

To save the righteous and to destroy the unrighteous, I become born in every age.

(It will appear that it is merely a paraphrase of the Yasna quoted on the left.)

There is nothing of the kind to be found in Rv. In the Brāhmaṇas (RPV, 208) we have an approach to it only, but that not in human form or of future times, but legends merely of past ideas. The Gītā is said to be a symposium of the Upanisads and indeed in most parts it is.

On comparison, parallels of or most slokas have been found in the Vedic literature, but none for these radical teachings, the original of which are to be found in the Avesta.

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mentality). (Guthrie's Translation).

(3)

Grēhmô * * *
gāus jaidyāi
mraōi (Yas. 32,
14ac)

"The Tormentor (the teacher of the opposite faith, Gao-témâ Aurunâ) declares that the cow is to be killed."

Zarathustra was besides deputed to save the cow from torments.
(Yas. 29.)

Gēus taśā (the shaper of the cow) is a worshipful abstraction in the Gāthās.
(Yas. 29, 2; 31, 9;
46, 9.)

(4)

Sraotā gēusais va-histā avaēnatā sūcā mananhā
Āvarenās vīcithah-yā narēm narēm hvahyāi tanuyē

Yo yo yām yām tanum bhaktah śradhyārcintum-icchatī,
Tasyā tasyācalām śradhām tāmeva

Kṛṣṇa is Gopāla, protector of the Cows, as also Govinda (Sk. Gavendra), Indra of the cows. (V.P.)

In the Rgveda (x, 85, 18c) aghā-su hanyante gāvah, the cow is slain in the Ma-ghā Nakṣatra (at the time of a marriage ceremony).

While Yajna-vālkya, the pupil of Gautama-Āruni ordered the killing of Vehād vaisnāvah, To Viṣṇu (is to be offered) a cow that has miscarried (Yajurveda, xxiv, i).

The cow was eaten by the followers of the Vedas down to the Sutra period (see V. I, ii, pp. 145-7; also Āpastamba-Gr. Sūtra (SBE), 1, 6, 17, 30.)

"It might however, have been expected that in the moral law of Varuṇa, which is the counterpart of the physical law recog-

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Parā mazē yāorihō
ahmāi nē sazdyāi
baodañtō paiti.

(Yas. 30, 2.)

Tā debnaotā ma-
śīm hujyātōis
ameretātascā

Hyañ vāo akā manān-
hā yēñg daēvēñg
akascā mainyus

Akā syaothanem
vacanhā yā
fracinas dregvāñ-
tem khshayō.

(Yas. 32, 5.)

At tā mainyū pou-
ruyē yā yēmā
hvafenā asrvātem

Manahicā vacahi-
cā syaothanōi hī
vahyō akemcā

Aoscā hudāonhō
eres viṣyātā nōit
duzdāonhō. (30, 3.)

Ayāo manivāo va-
ratā yē dregvāo
acistā verezyō

Asem * * *

Yaēcā khshnaosen
ahurem haithyāis
syaothanāis fra-
ret Mazdām.

(30, 5.)

KRŚNA'S

vidadhāmyaham.
Sa tayā śraddhayā
y u k t a s t a s y ā rā-
dhanamihate,

* * *

Antavattu phal-
ām tesām tad-
bh a v a t y a l p a
medhasām,

Devānd e v a - y a j o
yānti madbhaktā
yānti mām api.

(Gītā, 7, 21-3.)

Yadgatvā na ni-
vartante t a d
dhāma paramām
mama.

(ibid. 15, 6.)

Abhayam (ādi)

* * *

Bhavanti sampad-
ām daivim
ābhijātasya Bhā-
rata

Dambhav (ādi)

* * *

Ajñānam cābhijā-
tasya Pārtha.

Sampadamāsurīm
Daivī sampadvi-
moksāya niban-
dhyāsurī matā

* * *

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nised by the religion of the Veda as prevailing in the universe, the Rta, and in Varuṇa himself as the great guardian of that law there might have been found a deity in whom the mind of the sceptic might find peace and satisfaction. The case of Iran proves that the nature of the great Asura could easily give rise to the conception of a moral ruler and a deep ethical view of the world. But, whatever, the cause, it is beyond possibility of doubt that in India from the first philosophy is intellectual, not moral, in interest and outlook." (RPV., pp.433-4.) As a matter of fact, the theory of the law of Karma and transmigration precludes all idea of absolute good or

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Ayâô nôit eres vi-
syâtâ daêvâcinâ
hyat is â-debao-
mâ

Peresmaneñg upâ-
jasat hyat vere-
nâtâ acistem
manô;

At aësemem hêñ-
dvareñtâ yâ bâna-
yen ahûm maret-
tanô. (Yas. 30, 6.)

Listen ye with
your ears. Gaze ye
at the Flame with
the best thought

To the discrimination
of the faiths,
man by man, each
for his own person,

Before the great
endeavour. Consider
again (carefully)
our announcement.
(Yas. 30, 2.)

Therefore you
will defraud a man
of good life and
immortality

Because you, who
are Daevas, of evil
thought and evil
Mentality

Dvau bhûta sar-
gau loke ssmín
daiva âsura eva ca,
* * *

Etâm dñstîmava-
tabhya nastât-
mano slpabud-
dhayah

Prabhavantyugra-
karmânah Ksa-
yâya jagato Shi-
tâh. (9)

Kâmam âśritya a-
d u s p û r a m
dambhamânam-
adânvitâh

Mohâd gñhitvâ-
ssad grâhânt pra-
vartante sñciv-
ratâh. (10)

(ibid., 16, 1-10.)

Whoever, bhakta,
desires with faith
to worship what-
ever body, I make
his faith of that
immovable. (20)

Verily, fleeting is
the fruit of those
Penny-wise,

absolute bad. In
one place only,
however, in the
R g v e d a , we
have the expres-
sion of an idea
approaching the
Zarathustrian
conception of
the cause of evil.
Vâsistha says:
“Not our own will
betrayed us, but
seduction, tho-
ughtlessness,
Varuña, wine,
dice, or Mainyu.
The elder born
(Asura) is close
to the younger
born (Deva); even
svapna (sleep)
does not mix up
evil.” (Rv. vii, 6.)

The disconnect-
ed nature of
this passage is
itself a proof of
its being a bor-
rowed one¹. It
has not, there-
fore, been under-
stood, not having
been brought in
proximity of its
original. But
it will be observ-

1. ‘Asrvâtem’ in the Gâthic passage might mean an old tradition
which Zarathustra was reciting. In that case Vâsistha might not have
borrowed from Zarathustra. But the other verbal similarities make this
suggestion improbable.

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VEDA'S

By evil word will
he advise evil ac-
tions to destruction. (Yas. 32, 5.)

At the beginning
these Twin-Mental-
ties were *hvafe-
nâs* heard of.

In thought, word,
and deed—a good
and a bad one:

Of these two, let
the well-doing
choose aright, not
(so) the evil-doing.
(Yas. 30, 3.)

To the Devas go
the Deva-worship-
pers, but My devo-
tees come to Me. (23)

Whereto having
gone, they do not
return, that is My
Supreme-seat. (15,6.)

Fearlessness (etc.)*
Are the posses-
sions of those born
Daivis (Nobles).

Religious hypocri-
sy (etc.)

And Ignorance

ed that Manyu
clearly recalls
the Gâthic pas-
sage (30. 3) quot-
ed on the left.
And, as if this
was not thought
sufficient, *svapna*
is also mentioned
to recall *hvafe-
nâ*.¹ It is to be
remembered that
the oldest Brâ-
hmaṇa the Pañ-
cavîṁśa, as also
the Śatapatha,

1. Mills takes 'khshayô' in Yas. 32, 5 to mean "a ruler", similarly Haug translates it by "opulentia", "besitz", "possession", "macht-power" ('Die Gathas', pp. 15, 81, 166), but against these Guthrie (following Bartholomae) translates it by "to destroy." Now the present comparison with the Gîta passage decides for the latter—where also we have 'kṣayāya'—for "destruction" (16, 9). Similarly we get unexpected aid in the construc-
tion of the difficult *hvafenâ* in Yasna 30, 3 and the equally difficult '*svapna*' in Rv. vii, 66, 6. Guthrie following Neryosangh—the Indian Parsi transla-
tor—gives it the impossible meaning of "each other". Mills and Haug trans-
late it by equally impossible "spontaneously". (Mills, 'The Gathas in English
Verbatim', p. 47, and Dictionary, pp. 515-6). But no such sense of this
word is to be found elsewhere in the Gâthâs (44, 5), or in the later Avesta.
It only corresponds to Sk. 'svapna' meaning "sleep" ('Die Gathas', I. p. 100).
This is what others follow and what the earliest translator Rsi Vasîṣṭha sup-
ported. The difficulty of course is not removed, but we can at least reject
the translations "each other" (Guthrie), "jeder von eigener" (Haug),
"spontaneously" (Mills), with the utmost certainty. The meaning most
probably is that in the beginning—when there was no differentiation of
other beings—that is in the unconscious state or sleeping state in the pic-
ture-language of the ancients—"even (?) *at-* in Avestan and *hi* in Vedic)"
they were heard of as separate and opposed to each other. This is what
Vasîṣṭha means to emphasise. The activity of the Evil (Manyu) was not and
is not stopped even during sleep either of the Universe or of the individual.

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Of these two Mentalities, the Drugist chose the worst deed,

(But) the right ** * was chosen by him who would satisfy and please Ahura Mazdā with right deeds.

(Yas. 30, 5.)

The Daevaists did not discriminate accurately between these two, because

Just as they were deliberating, (there) came upon them a delusion so that they should choose the Worst Mind,

So that, all together, they rushed over to Aēsma (Fury) through which they afflict the life of man with disease." (Guthrie.)

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are the possessions, O Partha, of the Evil-born. (4)

The good-(mental)-possessions (lead) to Eternal Freedom, the Evil-m mentality (mata) (leads) to bondage. (5)

There (are) two sorts of beings in this world, the Daivī and the Åsuri. (6)

Having such view these senseless and penny-wise

Evil-doers are born for destruction—these enemies of the world. (9)

Taking refuge in desires difficult of fulfilment, fully-possessed of hypocrisy, pride, arrogance, *they were seized by delusion*, these of impure habits.

(Gītā, 15, 1-10.)

Owing to the syncretic character of the Gītā, representing not the true undiluted teachings of Krśna (of which a symposium is given in the Chāndogya), but an amalgam, howsoever mechanical at

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(see RPV. p. 457) contains the tradition of the Asuras being the elder brothers of the Devas. Strangely enough one passage (and only one) refers to the devas (cf. Gāthā, 32, 5, quoted on the left) being the source of our ills and evils. (Jaimini Brāhmaṇa, i, 98.)

As against these unconnected passages, "we miss entirely even what might have been expected, a living effort to combine the opposition of gods and Asuras with the conception of good and evil.

* * * *

Besides death there are other evils; hunger, dice, women, sleep cause sin as does untruthfulness; (and according to the whole trend of Hindu Philosophy) these are of the nature of

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times, of Zoroastrianism and Hinduism of the time of its composition (probably 600-300 B.C.), we find also in it the general Vedic theory of good and evil as in the nature of the Supreme Being Himself (Gita, 7, 12), but it is only, as it were, a lip homage to the former-opponent's faith, for in the preceding verses (8-11) only the good qualities are attributed to Him, the exception being only the last. In any case the verbal similarity in the two sets of passages quoted above cannot be explained on any other theory.

On deeper thought, it would appear that the whole of the Mahâbhârata is a story of the fight of the two kinds of persons described above, in fact the fight of the Two-Mentalities, on a

things, for Prajâpati is untruth and darkness as well as truth and light" (Sathapatha, x, 6, 5, 1; Maitrayâni Samhitâ iii, 6, 3; Sata, i, 1, 1, 1; v. 1, 2-10; RPV., pp. 479-80). This is an idea quite abhorrent to Zoroastrians.

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vast scale,¹ and it turns upon the wrong choosing of the arch-follower of the Druj Duryodhana. When the fight was about to begin, both Arjuna, the White or Pure one, and this Unrighteous fighter, Duryodhana, both went to the Lord Bhagavat Krsna of the Mahâbhârata to secure his help. Duryodhana had arrived first, but being over-proud, took his seat near the head of the lying Krsna; Arjuna coming later, but being very reverent

1. That it is not a commentator's poetry, but a description of facts which the author himself intended to impress on his readers (or hearers) would appear from the title originally given to the book, viz., 'Jaya' = "Victory", ('jayo nâm etihâso Syam' = "the name of this historical composition is 'Jaya'", both in the first and the last parvans, Bhâratamimâmsâ by C. V. Vaidya, (Hindi Translation, p. 6). It is also the original purpose of the author as the very first verse shows : 'tato jayam udîrayet', "and then this (book) 'jaya' is to be studied." And what was the conception of this victory in the author's mind ? 'Yato dharma tato jayah' = a "victory is on the side of righteousness"; and as to his definition of righteousness, it is only 'yato Krsnas tato dharmah' = "where there is Krsna, i.e., Krsnaism, there is righteousness." Thus the epic was intended to illustrate the free choosing of the Daivas and Asuras ; the Pândavas were said to be born of the former class of Spirits and their opponents, 'avatâras' of the latter, ending in the final victory of the Right, which is the same perhaps both in sense and form as Rta (Rv.) or Asha or Arsha (Av.).

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towards Him, sat near His legs. And so when Kṛṣṇa awoke he saw Arjuna first and gave him the first choice of Himself (helping with Right-thought only) or of his forces (blind-force). Duryodhana pleaded that he had come first and so should have the first choice. Kṛṣṇa did not accept it. Arjuna again had the magnanimity to allow his elder cousin (*cf.* Asuras, on the right) to have his will. Duryodhana chose wrongly. He chose the army of Kṛṣṇa, and Arjuna was glad to accept the Lord deciding the fate of the coming battle then and there! (Udyoga Parva).

We can then easily explain the specially Avestan use of the 'daeva' word 'dvar' in Gītā (XI, 36), corresponding exactly to its exact Avestan equivalent in Gāthā (Yas. 30,6) and Avesta,

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Yasna IX, 8. This may give the clue to the reason of the so many un-Sanskritic idioms in the Gītā.

(xiii) In this connection, we ought always to bear in mind the story of the Khāṇḍava dāha Parvan (MBH, I), where Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna are described as fighting Indra with all the hosts of the Vedic gods in their attempt to prevent Agni from feeding upon the forest, which meant the destruction of all the creatures residing therein, together with Taksaka, the Indra-worshipper. It ended, of course, in the defeat of the Aśatru (= enemiless, i.e., unconquerable) Indra and the Devas. In plain language, it means the defeat of the Vedists by the Fire-worshippers, the followers of Kṛṣṇa. Similar is the meaning of the Govardhana incident in the traditional biography of Kṛṣṇa as recorded in the Viṣṇu and other Purāṇas. Kṛṣṇa stopped the worship of the God Indra by his tribesmen, the Vrajabāsīs, and advised them to worship the mountains instead, and there ate away all the offerings himself, thus establishing his own worship. This led to an attack by Indra leading his host of gods against the rebel cow-herd tribe, ending in the former's humiliation (Hari V. ii, 16, 2f.; V. P., v, 10, 29 ff; RPV., p. 187). That there is certainly history underlying the tradition is apparent from the fact that we have fortunately the version of the opposite camp also, a very rare thing indeed, preserved to us in the middle-age portion of the R̥gveda. Sage Kanva who, perhaps, was an eye witness to the fight must be referring to this fact when he sang :—

13. The swift-moving Kṛṣṇa (Asura) with ten thou-

sand (followers) entrenched himself round about (the banks of) the Am̄sumatī (Yamunā).

Indra with might longed for him, as he roared, the hero-hearted laid aside his weapon.

14. I (Indra, as the commentator Sāyana says, or may be, the poet himself is meant) saw the Swift-moving Kṛṣṇa (or Kṛṣṇa-candra, as some, according to Sāyana, explain 'drapsas' to mean the Moon) advancing on the wide region (to take up a) difficult position (mountainous?) on the Am̄sumatī River.

Like a cloud. Heroes I send you forth. Go, fight in battle.

15. And then the Swift-moving (or Candra), brilliant, held forth his body,
And Indra, with Brhaspati's aid, withstood the (onslaught of the) advancing 'a-devih,' anti-devaite 'viasah,' people.

(Rgveda, viii, 96, 13-15.)

[It is a great pleasure to me to note that Dr. Radha Krishnan (Ind. Phil. i, 87f.) agrees with me in this interpretation.]

(xiv) In the later Avesta, Zarathustra is represented as worshipping the Sun (Mithra) also, and the section of the Zoroastrians who came or were invited to India, as appears from the Bhavisya Purāṇa and Govindpura Inscription, laid great stress on this aspect of the religion. It is not strange, therefore, when it is said that it was Kṛṣṇa's son Śāmba who brought them from Śakadvīpa (a tradition itself having its counterpart in the Sāhnāma in the story of Zāl) and established them first in Kaśyapapura, now Multan in the Panjab. The Śveta-dvīpa round Meru, modern Merv, is also identifiable now when we are told

that the Pancrâtra (Bhâgvat) religion was imported into India from that land. (MBh. Śânti, chs. 334-351).¹ But what is of greater importance is the fact that we have Mihira (Mithra) as a name of the Sun in the Mahâbhârata, whom Yudhiṣṭhîra worships in the jungle and from whom he gets his cooking utensil supplying eternal food. (MBh. Vana Parvan.) So Kṛṣṇa worshipped the Sun and the Fire before starting on his peace mission to Hastinâpura. (MBh. Udyoga, 83).

(xv) Kṛṣṇa, equally with Zarathustra, was opposed to wine drinking, which was represented in ancient times most probably by Soma (haoma). (LLL. 188f.)

(xvi) Bâlhika is said to be an ancestor of the Pândus, and this name along with Parâsavî, wife of Vidura², brother of Pându, makes their Persian origin quite evident.

(xvii) It is in social customs that we find the Zoroastrian leanings of the Pândavas clearer. To marry a cousin-sister has, since olden times, been abhorrent to the Indian-Vedists. But this was, perhaps, an old institution amongst a section, at least, of the Zoroastrians. We have a strongly worded adverse criticism, perhaps, of this incestuous custom of the neighbouring Persians, in Rv. x, 12, where Yama is represented as vehemently reprobating the advances of his sister Yami. They are the two reputed progenitors, according to one version of the Parsi tradition, of the human race (RPV, 408). Arjuna is, however, said to have married his cousin Subhadrâ, who is said to have given birth to the still-born Parikṣit. In matters relating to the disposal of the dead, they certainly followed the Magian custom of exposing the corpses to the elements of nature and to the birds and beasts of prey. (a) When Arjuna placed his ponderous bow on a

1. See p. 84, n. 1. Walford's (A. R. iii) identification with England has been rightly rejected and forgotten.

2. See p. 84, n. 1.

tree in the kingdom of Virâta, preparatory to going to his court, in order to beguile the cowherds who saw him doing it and asked him what it was, he distinctly informed them that it was the corpse of his mother, which he disposed of in that way according to the custom prevailing in his tribe. Again, when Vidura died and his body was sought to be cremated, it was prevented by a voice from heaven, and it was left exposed without even being buried. Nor were the bodies of Yudhiṣṭhīra and his brothers and wife, ever burnt or buried. The explanation of course is this, just as Darmesteter has pointed out, that it is a repetition of the story of the death of a Persian king as recorded in the *Sāh-nāma*, that they died in the snows of Meru (Merv). Kṛṣṇa's corpse also was not cremated and, according to one account, was similarly disposed of. No such custom is recorded in the *Rgveda*. We have a reference to it in the *Atharvaveda*, but it cannot be said that it was either general or ever followed previous to the Magian emigration to India. It is also referred to in the *Śatapatha* (iv. 5. 2.13), but it must be remembered that of the authorities relied on mostly in that Brāhmaṇa, one Yājnavalkya, was the pupil of Gautama Āruṇi, who I have shown, in my monogram on the Date of Zarathustra, went and preached in Bactria during the lifetime of Zarathustra, and perhaps made many converts, one of whom was Asurbinda Audālaki; and the other is named Āsuri himself. (VI., i, p. 72-3; ii, p. 189. Cf. RPV., 417). Yudhiṣṭhīra's providing himself with a dog at the time of his journey to the region of the dead, as is already pointed out above, is in pursuance of the well-known Parsi custom of having a dog to look at the corpse before its being taken to the Tower of Silence. (But see contra Gautama and Āpastamba Gr̥ha Sutras, SBE, Gautama, XV, 24; Āpastamba, 11, 7, 17, 20). Bhiṣma's drinking the blood of the defeated has been rightly condemned as un-Indian but not against the code of Iranian

duels. Cf. Rustam and Sohrab's duel and others.

(xviii) The early history of Kṛṣṇa's boyhood,—his being sent away, when born, among the shepherds and brought up with them, and his act of killing his uncle,—has close correspondence with the story of the boyhood of the Persian king, Kai-Khusru (Husravanh, the beautiful, the glorious) as detailed in the Sāh-nāma, which itself is perhaps based on the earlier traditional history found in Pahlavi. But Kṛṣṇa's story of his having killed his uncle is recorded in the Mahābhāṣya of Pātañjali (second century B.C.). So I cannot at present say which is the original, but it is to be remarked that the first disciple of Zarathustra having a name identical in meaning with Kṛṣṇa-candra, i.e., Maidhyō-māonha, certainly an a-devih and asura-like Kṛṣṇa is not heard of after Zarathustra's time. But we have it distinctly stated that his religion was, according to the Master's express exhortation, preached in different countries including India. It is also to be noted that the 'verezēnya', the class of Zoroastrians next to the 'Hvaētu' (perhaps the 'rajanyas' or 'ksatriyas' of the Vedas and the Brāhmaṇas) is represented in India only by the 'vrajas' of Gokula and Vṛndāvana (Mathura), and though they are found in Zarathustra's time, they disappear later from the Persian literature. The 'airyamna' (the third class) is represented later in the Inscriptions of Darius, and also in other places. Is it not strange that they should appear in India first in connection with Kṛṣṇa?¹ There are some other facts to be consi-

1. It is remarkable in this connection that the Ārya, as the name of a distinct caste lower than the Śudra or after the Śudra, is mentioned in the Atharvaveda (XIX, 32, 8. 62; also Yajurveda of Yājñavalkya, Āsuri, and Tura Kāvaseya, XXVI, 2). The Vaisya is omitted, and its place given to the Śudra (V. I., ii, p. 253). Are the 'vrātyas', extolled in the Atharvaveda, but looked down elsewhere, with their slightly different Vedic language (a dialect of Avestan?), with pointed shoes, etc., in any way connected with the 'varatās'.

dered in this connection. The Sanskrit equivalent of the Avestan 'verəzənya' would be 'vr̥janyāḥ' (Mills' Dictionary, p. 470), connected with √'vr̥j,' meaning "to avoid," "shun," from which the corresponding noun 'vr̥jinah' == "a wicked man", is derived. Either this was the meaning attached to these people when they came to India, or they saw some such sense attached to their name; for, 'vraja', if it is their name, appears to me to be simply a dissimulation of 'vr̥janyah'. There is no such name of a tribe or a caste traceable in the Vedic literature. Another fact is this that while Kṛṣṇa is called an 'a-devih' in the Rgveda, an Asura in the Atharvaveda and in some places in the Pali literature, he is connected in the Mahābhārata, with the Jādavas¹, who are said to be the 'avatāras' of the Asuras. They are counted among the Vrātryas,¹ in the Smṛtis. His grandfather Devaka is said to be a king of the Gandharbas, Devaka being the name of an enemy, an Asura perhaps, whom Indra killed (VIII, 18, 20). The Mahā bhārata at least calls him an Asura who was a born king of the Gandharbas (I, 67, 64). It is a contemptuous term no doubt with the suffix 'aka'. The 'Kekayas' whom I have proved to be the people over whom Vistāspa (Aśvapati) ruled and among whom Zarathustra had his first followers, are also called the 'avatāras' of the Asuras in the Mahābhārata (I, 67, 10). These and many other details noted in 'The Date of Zarathustra' (IHQ, 1929) and elsewhere completely establish the identity of the teachings of Kṛṣṇa with those of Zarathustra.

= "right choosers, believers", Yas. 30, 5) of Zarathustra? Might they not be the half-convert nomads of that faith? (see V. I., ii, pp. 342f). It is to be noted, however, that they are not met with in the Rgveda, but in the Atharvaveda, the Yajurveda and others, that is, after Zarathustra's time.

¹ The Andhakas and Vṛṣnis (to which Kṛṣṇa belonged) are branded as Vrātryas in the Drona Parvan (ch. 141, 15). Cf. 'The Political History of India', by H. R. Chowdhry, p. 78.

But there were philological difficulties to be got over to establish the identity of the two personages. They proved to be simply formidable and four years of labour have resulted in only firmly laying the foundations of a new and distinct branch of the linguistic science, which I now call Inorganic Philology, although I had first published my views thereon under the title of 'The Law of Loan in Languages' (JBORS). I found that organic philological laws or rules were inapplicable to trace the changes words undergo when taken as loan even in languages originally closely connected. I was convinced of the identity, but was misled into reading strict history in the traditions recorded in the Mahābhārata. Instead of comparing it critically with the admittedly better source, the Vedic literature, I assumed the correctness of the Mahābhārata in essential details, even where it was not supported by the more reliable records; and as it was found there that Yudhiṣṭhīra had gone to the North-West of India, a place actually recorded as 'Pahlava deśa' in the Jaina Harivaiśa, almost identical with Bactria, the country very generally accepted as the region of the first ministry of Zarathustra, and as the previous history of Zarathustra was enshrouded in mystery and conflicting traditions ('Zoroaster,' by Jackson, p. 38f.), it was a fascinating idea to theorise as to the transformation of Yudhiṣṭhīra into Zarathustra in his foreign home. There was no difficulty now, and as this theory assuaged the patriotic feelings of my countrymen, most roughly and unjustifiably wounded by Dr. Spooner, it was hailed with joy and feelings of relief in the province. I was asked to get my thesis printed, after I had read it in the Bengali Literary Conference and also at a meeting specially convened in the Bihar National College Hall in 1915. But as I wanted to finish the investigation of certain points in it, the publication was delayed. Subsequent examination

and re-examination of the evidence has not changed my conviction as to the identity of the two persons, but the shaky character of the value to be attached to the statements of facts as contained in the Mahâbhârata, especially the demonstrable lateness of the book, the adapted features and very recent age of its last 'Parvans,' in which is contained the most important evidence of my original theory, when compared with the unchallengeable evidence of the Zoroastrian Gâthâs have compelled me to modify my former views of history.

Zarathustra did certainly exist, as besides the evidence of foreigners, we have him living in an archaic book which, if not his actual composition, was certainly composed in his immediate presence, and wherein the god-Zarathustra of the later Avesta, appears as a living human being with the tribulations and joys to which we are liable. Can the same be said of Yudhîsthîra? The demi-god Yudhîsthîra of the existing Mahâbhârata was painted as a real living human being in its original recension, as established by modern research, but this book cannot be pushed beyond the fourth century B. C. ('Mahâbhârata Mimânsâ,' by Vaidya, p. 53 (Hindi)), the modernity of the language, the finished and therefore late character of its metres being the most hostile of circumstances to any of its portion being deemed a contemporary composition. For though of all persons, Kṛṣṇa cannot be eliminated from the society of Yudhîsthîra, he is still earlier than the Chândogya Upanisad, (iii, 17. 6) where he is referred to as Devikîputra Kṛṣṇa, earlier in the Atharyaveda where he is referred to as an Asura, and also at a later stage in the development of the Rigvedic lore, wherein (Rv. viii, 96, 13-15) occurs the Vedic-version of the Indra's fight on the banks of the Yamunâ (as we are compelled to interpret Amśumati in accordance with the authority of Sâyanâcârya). Here Kṛṣṇa

is justly and rightly referred to as 'adevih-anti-deva.' Now in all this and in the kindred Samhitâs and Brâhmaṇas, we have no reference to Yudhiṣṭhira and his brothers. This is inexplicable on any other theory. If the fact of his being anti-Vedist be any ground for the absolute silence of these contemporary and very nearly contemporary, certainly vast, ancient records regarding these personages, there can be none regarding their opponents the Kauravas, and this when it is to be remembered that almost the whole of all this literature was produced in the Kuru-Pâñcâla country. The Bhâratas and later the Kuru-Pâñcâlas are all throughout mentioned, but not even the name of Pânḍu or the Pânḍavas, collectively or individually finds a place anywhere therein. The alleged immediate descendants of these, Parîksit and his sons, are mentioned, and the prosperous condition of the people in his reign is gloriously lauded in the Atharvaveda (x, 127, 7-10). Even the not-distant ancestors of these, Devâpi and Śântanu, are mentioned in the latest portion of the Rgveda (x. 98). Why should the most important intermediaries be forgotten? Of all the persons how could the heroic deeds of the learned and most renowned Brahmin fighter Dronâcârya, who was most treacherously killed by the Kṣatriya princes, who died, it must be presumed, fighting for his religion, and whose son had his revenge on them, how could all this be forgotten by the Brahmins themselves especially when they had many occasions to refer to their successful fight against the latter (*e. g.* Ait. Br. viii, 21) to cow them down into submission? Could such men die 'unwept, unhonoured and unsung' by their own voluble partisans? The fight might be taken to have been a local one, only most disproportionately exaggerated by the later bards, but the Pâñcâlas cannot by any means be eliminated from it. How is it then that the whole of the Vedic literature-

refers to them always as friendly tribes, by joining them together—the Kuru-Pāñcālas (v. I. I, 165-6) and never even for once speaks of any enmity between them. No civil war is ever referred to among the Kurus.

But if in the original and older genealogy of the Kurus, the names neither of Pāṇdu nor his sons Yudhiṣṭhīra and others occur, it will be admitted that the evidence is decisive and Yudhiṣṭhīra's non-existence proved. However startling the suggestion might appear, it is but too true! There are two genealogies given in the Mahābhārata, side by side (I, Chs. 68-94 and 95), but both relating to the Puru line of kings. Nowhere else, excepting in the Harivaiśa, such a duplication of the genealogies is to be found together, and both for the same reason and for the same purpose. In the Harivaiśa, the earlier Asura genealogy of Kṛṣṇa had to be replaced by the general Indian one, but the older one could not be suppressed (see DRGI, p. 229). They have troubled many scholars, but so far no satisfactory explanation has been found. The two Paurava genealogies of the Mahābhārata, besides, contradict each other on many points. Though it cannot be asserted that any of them is absolutely correct, there are certain circumstances to show that the list first in order is also earlier in date than the second. First, while the two together are named ‘Puru-vaiśānukirtana,’ or “Eulogy of the Puru race,” it is the first only which contains the names of the kings together with a short account of their exploits, the second is but a string of names some of whom are already named in the first list. As a matter of fact, when we have a complete list with descriptive notes in the first list (I, ch. 68-94), there would appear no valid reason for its repetition. At least the one given “extensive description” (ch. 95) is certainly false, for it is the first and not the second which gives us any extensive description. Secondly,

as Wilson remarked : " Of the two lists, however, the second is probably to be regarded as the recent, if not the more correct (which it is not) ; for Vaiśampâyana repeats it at Janamejaya's request, because the latter is not satisfied with the summary account (?) which the latter had first communicated to him" (Ind. Alt. I, p. 594, f. n. 3). Thirdly, it will appear from a comparison of the two lists with that of the Viṣṇu-Purâna given below from Lassen's 'Alterthumskunde Indische' (I, XIX-XXV, appendix), that the Purâṇas, in most places, agree with the first list, and so does the Vedic literature. Fourthly and lastly, as one of the two must be a later invention, the charge cannot be laid against the first, because, while the names of Dhr̥trâṣṭra and Pâṇḍu as descendants of Parîksit are given, the names of the most important personages, (Yudhiṣṭhira, Duryodhana, etc.) so far as the Mahâbhârata is concerned, are omitted and we find instead the names of Kundina, Hastin, etc., appearing as the sons of Dhr̥trâṣṭra.

	MAHÂBHÂRATA	VIŚNU-PURÂNA
	FIRST LIST	SECOND LIST
1	Puru	Puru = Kauśalyâ
2		Janamejaya = Anantâ, a Mâdhavî
3		Prâcinvat Asmaki, a Yâdayâ
4	Pravîra = Śûrasenî,	Pravîra
5	Manasyu = Sauvirî	Manasyu
6	Šakta	
7		Bhayada
8		Sudyuman
9		Bahugava
10		Samyâti = Varângî, d. of Dr̥sadvat
11		Ahamyâti, Bhânumati d. of Kṛtvîrya
		Asamyâti

	MAHÂBHÂRATA FIRST LIST	SECOND LIST	VIŚNU-PURÂNA
12	Raudrâśva = Ghṛtacî, an Apsarâ		Raudrâśva
13	R̥ceyu (Anâdhṛsti)		R̥teyu, (Ag. P. R̥ceyu)
14		Sârvabhauma = Sunandâ, d. of K. of Kekaya	
15		Jayatsena = Suśravâ, d. of K. of Vidarbha	
16		Avâcîna = Maryâdâ, d. of K. of Vidarbha	
17		Ariha = d. of a king of Anga	
18		Mahâbhauma = Suyajnâ, d. of Prasanejit	
19		Ayutanâjin = Kâmâ, d. of Pṛthuśravas	
20		Akroḍhana = Karambhâ, d. of K. of Kalinga	
21		Devâtithi = Maryâdâ, d. of K. of Videha	
22		Ariha = Sudevâ, d. of K. of Anga.	
23		R̥kṣa = Jâvâlâ, d. of Tak- ṣaka, the Serpent King	
24	Matinâra	Matinâra = the River Rantinâra Sarasvatî	
25	Tansu and Druhyu	Tansu = Rathantri	Tansu, Apratira- tha, Dhruva
26	Ilina = Rathantri	Ilina	Anila
27*	Duṣyanta	Duṣyanta-Šakuntalâ	Duṣyanta
28*	Bharata	Bharata = Sunandâ, d. of Bharata K. of Kâśi named Sarvasena	

	MAHĀBHĀRATA FIRST LIST	SECOND LIST	VIŚNU-PURĀNA
29	Bhumanyu	Bhumanyu-Vijayā, a Dāśarhi	Bhavamanyu
30	Diviratha		Brhatkṣatra
31	Suhotra	Suhotra = Sunandā, d. of an Ikṣvāku	Suhotra
32		Hastin = Yaśodhrā, d. of a K. of Trigarta	
33		Vikunthana = Sudevā, a Dāśarhi	
34*	Ajamīḍha	Ajamīḍha	Ajamīḍha
35*	Samvaraṇa	Samvaraṇa = Tapatī, d. of the Sun	Samvaraṇa
36	Kuru	Kuru-Subhāṅgā, a Dāśarhi	Kuru
37	Aviksīt, Janame- jaya and 3 others		
38			Jahnu
39			Suratha
40		Vidūratha = Sampriyā, Vidūratha a Mādhavi	
41		Anasvan-Amṛtā, d. of a K. of Magadha	
42*	Parīksit, and 7 others	Parīksit = Bāhudā	
43		Suyasa	
44*	Janamejaya, Bhi- masena and 5 others	Bhimseña-Kumārī, d. of a K. of Kekaya	
45			Sarvabhauma
46			Jayasena, Arāvin
47			Ayutāyus
48			Akrodhhana
49			Rksa

	MAHĀBHĀRATA FIRST LIST	SECOND LIST	VIŚNU PURĀNA	
50			Dilipa	
51		Pratiśravas		
52*	D H R T R Ā S T R A , PĀNDU, BALHĪKA and 5 others			
53	Kuṇḍina, Hastin. and 3 others			
54*	Pratipa and 2 others	Pratipa = Sunandā, d. of king of Šibi	Pratipa	
55	*DEVĀPI, ŠĀNTANU, BALHĪKA (mention- ed in the last portions of the Rgveda, X. 98)	DEVĀPI, ŠĀNTANU, BALHĪKA	DEVĀPI, ŠĀNTANU, BALHĪKA	
	[The list closes here.]			
56	Bhīṣma, Vieitṛavīrya, Citrāṅgada		Bhīṣma, V. virya Cāṅgada.	
57	Dhratrāstra M. Gāndharī	Pāndu M. Kuntī (Prthā)	Vidura M. Madri (Bāhlīki)	D. P. V.
58	Duryodhana and 99 others	Yudhiṣṭhīra and 4 others		Dur. Yud.
59		Abhimanyu		Abhimanyu.
60		PARĪKSIT, (revived. He was “born dead”, having been killed in the embryo by Drona’s son).		Parīksit
61				Janamejaya.

* (Names marked with the asterisk are mentioned in the Vedic literature also. But the Dhratrāstra of Vedic literature is of Kaśī and not a Kaurava. See ‘Vedic Index.’)

It is to the last named personage that the Mahābhārata is alleged to have been recited during the snake-sacrifice performed by him. It is apparent that he is the same person as No. 44 in the first list. The name of the father

of both is the same, and so are the names of two of their brothers Ugrasena and Bhīmasena. The other four also bore the surname 'sena'. To some extent this position of Janamejaya is supported by the second list also, inasmuch as it also mentions one Parikṣita (No. 42), about the same distance from Ajamidha with a grandson instead of a son named Bhīmasena. But these names disappear from the Viṣṇu Purāṇa for obvious reasons. The Bhāgavata mentions a Parikṣita as a son of Kuru, but distinctly states that he had no son (IX. 22, 8-15). Now there can be no doubt that this Janamejaya of the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas is identical with the Janamejaya of the Vedic literature. In the Mahābhārata as well as the Brāhmaṇas, he is the son of Parikṣit, he has three brothers named Ugrasena, Bhīmasena, and Śrutseṇa, who were accursed to be subjected to some sudden fear in the former, and an unknown sin due to some serious scandal in the latter, from which they were released by choosing one Somasrava (born of a serpent) as their priest, as stated in the Mahābhārata (I, 3, 11-20), while the Brāhmaṇas mention the performance of a horse sacrifice to that end with Śaunaka (SB) or Tura Kavāṣya (AB) as their priest, certainly different from their family priests as indicated in both the Mahābhārata (I, 50, 11-30) and the Brāhmaṇas as the Kāśyapas, who were for some time suspended from being allowed to enjoy that privilege ('Vedic Index', Vol. i, 273, 520). The facts that in the Mahābhārata (I, 3, 1-10) the beating of a dog is said to be a sin to be atoned for like the Parsi religious laws, the Vendīdād, and the Kāśyapas, possibly connected with the Caspian Sea and the Zoroastrian religion, Kāśyapa-pura being the name of the first city in India where sun-worship along with the Zoroastrian religion was established, the city being later known as Multan; and the Asitmṛgas, a family of these priests, Asurbinda known also as Kusurubind, being the name of an individual belonging to this

family, and 'mṛgas' being the designation of the Brāhmaṇas of Śakadvīpa according to the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, are other connecting links of the Pāṇḍava family with Iran. A further evidence of their Iranian connection is the cause of Parīkṣit's death as detailed in the Mahābhārata (I, 50), that is, his insult to a 'Mauna Ṛṣi' (a sage practising silence), whose pupil was one Gaura-mukha (White-complexioned), referring clearly to Zoroastrian priests as described in the Bhavisya Purāṇa. All this shows a change of faith beginning from Parīkṣit, whose reign probably is so much eulogised by a Kuru subject in the Atharvaveda (xx, 127, 7-10), and certainly, in the same strain, in the Mahābhārata (I, 49, 1-20). This being so near the period of RV. x, 98, where we read of the sacrifice of Devāpi for Ailāna (of the family of Ilina 20), it would require an unwarrantable supposition that it was after the immigration of the Kurus, a fact supported by the existence of a northern home of the Kurus, the Uttarakuṇḍa, beyond the Himalayas (*pareṇa Him-vantam*)¹, near Uttramadra², and Kāmboja², the language of Uttras being further described as purer³, the names of the Persian kings, Kuruš (Cyrus) and Kambujiya (Cambyses) coupled with the mention of the then primitive social condition of the people through the mouth of Pāṇḍu in the Mahābhārata (I, Ch. 123) and Ottoroxorrai (of Ptolemais) east of Kashgar (Alt. Ind., I, 846-7) making its existence undoubted. That they immigrated in very late times is proved by the fact that they are not mentioned by name in the Rgveda, and their kings, the doubtful Kuruśravāna Trāsdasyava and the more probable Śāntanu, as also their priests, the Kaśyapas, are mentioned in the tenth and ninth Mandalas of the Rgveda. These Mandalas are well known for their recent character. Their non-connexion with the Purus and the Bhāratas is proved by the fact that their

1 V. I. I, 84.

2 Ibid., p. 84-5

3 V. I. I. 86-7.

genealogy is clearly added on to that of the Purus, after it was finished with the words: 'iti ete Paurvâh' ("finished, these were the Pauravas"). The Kuru genealogy is then continued by supplying Ajamîdha with another wife, Nalîni. The Kuru genealogy of the Jaina Harivanša honestly recognises this fact and gives the Kurus quite an independent genealogy having no connection with the Yadus. Their distinctness is also proved by the fact that their capital was named Hastinâpura = Nâgapura ("the city of the Serpents"). Kauravya and Dhṛtrâstra (Dhattarâtha, name of a Nâga = "serpent" in Pâli-Jâtakas) are names of families of Nâgas (= "serpents") as given in the Mahâbhârata (I, 57). The great Bhiṣma had a Nâga, a serpent emblem on his war flag. And lastly, according to the Nila-mâtâ Purâṇa, the country north of the Kashmir, i. e., near about Kashgar, was formerly inhabited by the Nâgas.

Now this unsupportable supposition is supplanted by a natural course of events if we take Parîksit to be the next descendant of the first Kuru king in India, the kingdom having been gained by usurpation, as the Jaina Harivanša suggests, and so perhaps not praised in the R̥gveda. His name Avikṣit (= "shepherd," from 'avis' = "sheep"?) being perhaps an indication of his recent pastoral life. Parîksit must, therefore, have been a very popular king, to gain the good-will of his subjects as described in the contemporary ballad of the Atharvaveda. If the story of the cause of the death of Parîksit is to be believed and given a natural setting, he might have become a reinforced Vedist, even if only to get the support of the Indian priestly class, but for that very reason a more fanatic one. And so the insult to the non-violent Zoroastrian sage must have let loose on him the fury of the Zoroastrian Nâgas of Taxila, where the evidence of the Zoroastrian faith has been recently discovered by Sir John Marshall, though

it may not be of very great antiquity or of further west. His son Janamejaya, "the Great Conqueror," carried farther the work of his father, by driving away the vestiges of Zoroastrianism from his land, subduing the Nāgas and performing the final horse sacrifice with the help of Indrota Daivāpi Śaunaka, a purely Indian priest, as the Śatapatha says, or another having some distinct clear Iranian tint in his name, Tura Kāvaseya¹, as is the version of the Aitareya. There was later rapprochement between the Kāsyapas and Janamejaya. In any case, these are the facts only remembered in the Brāhmaṇas and so of a period anterior to them. But the most decisive fact noted therein is this that both Parikṣit and Janamejaya are called Kurus and not Pāṇḍavas, which would not have been done if there had been the very bitter recent fight between their immediate ancestors and the Kauravas, as in that fight they must have had a distinctively collective name as the Mahābhārata indicates. This they could not have been deprived of in so short a time and given the hated title of their mortal enemies.

We arrive at the same conclusion when we consider the other most relevant inversion of names in the two lists, I mean that of Dhṛtrāśtra. He is said to be an 'avatāra' of Hansa, son of the Gandharva king, Arīṣṭa, (MBh. I, 67, 81-2). If it does not literally mean anything, it means that he had another name Arīṣṭa, or some blood connexion with Arīṣṭa, perhaps a prakritised form of Rṣti and this fits in exactly with the R̥gvedic patronymic title

1. The name 'Tura' itself is perhaps connected with the Turanians. Kāvaseyas, according to Barua ('Pre. Bud. Phil.', pp. 111-2), were the first to raise their voice against the Vedic sacrifice. Had they any blood relation with the Kavas of Iran? He is the source of the doctrine taught in the tenth book of the Śatapatha, where the other teachers mentioned are Yājñavalkya and his pupil Asuri. For the Asura connection of Yājñavalkya's guru Aruni, see p. 100 above. Tura Kāvaseya is also said to have erected a fire altar (like that of Iran?) on the Karoti, (V. I. i, p. 311.)

Ārstisena ("descendant of Rṣṭisena") of Devāpi. This hymn, being a contemporaneous composition, cannot by any means be explained away. But if we take away Dhr̥trâstra from his real position in the first list, we cannot find any trace of the father's name of the certainly Rgvedic Devāpi in the second Mahâbhârata list or in the corresponding Puranic version. Those supporting the second list may say that the Vedic Vicitravîrya, father of Dhr̥trâstra is not found in the first list. But this Vedic Dhr̥trâstra, son of Vicitravîrya is not to be taken as a Kuru king at all, but as identical with the Kâśî king of Śatapatha. (V. I., i, 403.) A similar confusion must have occasioned the misconceived corrections of the older list.

But we cannot sufficiently thank the ancient Indian sages for having preserved all the conflicting records intact, however obsolete they might have thought them to be. I have given most of them in my DRGI (JBORS, 1920, pp. 227 ff.) and some of them have been hinted at above. Their very beautiful way of explaining these "corrections" must not be passed over unnoticed. The extinct Parîksit had to be brought down and as this could not be done without bringing him back to life, a fact impossible of execution, it was recorded that Parîksit, though dead before being born, was brought back to life by Vyâsa. This Parîksit is the same as the older one, only with some names inserted before him. A miracle literally !!!

[It will be seen that, though I have not specifically mentioned the arguments of the opponents against the theory propounded here, mostly of my countrymen like Mr. C. V. Vaidya. (see his 'Bhârat Mimânsâ' in the Hindi language and other works in English), I have met them, however, by showing that the omission of any reference to the Pândavas and Dronâcârya in the Vedic literature is

not accidental and of no consequence. The most serious mistake of these persons is their tacit assumption that the Dhr̄trâstra in the Vedic literature was a Kuru and was different from the Dhr̄trâstra of Kâśî not distinguished therein. I cannot understand why they take Somaka of the R̄gveda, king of the Sr̄ñjayas, to be identical with Somaka of the Pâncâlas, though this latter mistake is not so very serious in this connection. In these matters, we ought not to be lawyers but judges, however unpleasant our conclusions might be to ourselves or to others. For a few other references see my 'Date of Zoroaster', IHQ, 1929, pp. 260-274].

ADDENDA

- 1) Mathurâ (mathûrâ) = Madhurâ = Madura = Maðura = Maðura = Madra.

The above formula which is exact explains almost perfectly a lot of hitherto confused facts. Madhu, the first king of the Mathura tract was an Asura. So was his son Lavana. Distinctly an Asura, he is the ancestor of Kṛṣṇa in H. V. (Chs. 93 ff.). But he is referred to as a Yâdava in other places. (See Pargiter, 'Indian Historical Traditions'). Pargiter has taken quite uncritically the former version to be the latter. (Pp. 66, 122.) But he never paused to think how a very important town came to have two names 'Mathurâ' and 'Madhurâ' among persons who never confused the two sounds 'th' and 'dh'. But if it be granted that this is an Avestan word, the whole difficulty would disappear. You cannot give it a Sanskrit meaning. 'Madrâh' (the people of Madra: there were the Uttara Madras like the Uttara Kurus known to the Vedic Indians,) must also have migrated

to India like the Kurus. They were also known as 'Madrukah'. (See Apte's Dictionary.) We get the epenthetic 'u' naturally before 'r' (Av. Gr. §. 70) in 'Madra' or 'Madrah' or 'Madrukah' the original 'd' being represented by the δ and also by θ. (ibid §§ 83 (3) and 86.)

The one important point to be remembered in this connection is this that this change took place in Persia about the time of the Purāṇas, *i. e.*, this change is not found in the Gāthic Avestan language, whose age is certainly earlier, corresponding to the early Vedic. And, therefore, it rather supports the present theory that the name Mathurā or Madhurā, retaining a Gāthic trace in its final vowel, has the effect of the later change firmly impressed on it. And we do not hear of Māthura or Mādhura in the Vedic literature. Mathurā must have come into prominence only towards the close of it.

2) The Mahābhārata as a composition may have come into existence later, but the names of the heroes of the story must have been known to the people who knew Arjuna and others. It is doubtful if Pāṇini knew them. (IHQ., I, p. 483 ff; II, p. 186 ff.) If the fight really took place in India, with Duryodhana, Duḥśāsana and others, its magnitude was such that the latter must have been known to Pāṇini at least. But the fact that these names became current after the time of the great grammarian is proved by the following Vārttikā of Kātyāyana to P. III, 3, 126-130,

भाषायां शासि युधि दशि घृषि मृषिम्न्योयुज्वक्तव्यः ।

In the spoken (Sanskrit) language, it ought to be stated that 'yuc' ('ana' by VII I. I) is added to the roots 'yudh' ("to fight"), 'dr̥s' ("to see"), 'dhrs' ("to hurt"), 'mr̥s' ("to bear"), with 'isat,' 'dus,' and 'su' as prepositions, to form such words as 'Duryodhana', 'Suyodhana',

'Duhśāsana', 'Durdarśana', 'Durdharsana', 'Durmarsana', etc. Pāṇini knew of such affixes only to roots ending in à (III, 3, 128). This conclusion is further supported by the Vārttikā गवाद्विषु विन्देः संज्ञायाम् to P. III, 1, 138, to explain the formation of 'Govinda', a late name of Kṛṣṇa. These words got currency between the times of Pāṇini and Kātyāyana which must have been considerably great. This has been discussed by Goldstüker in his preface to Pāṇini and is conclusively proved by the Vārttikā of Kātyāyana to P. III, 1, 118. In Pāṇini's time, the words प्रतिशृङ्खम् and अपिशृङ्खम् were found in the Vedic as well as the current dialect, so he wrote only प्रश्नपिस्त्वा ग्रहेः। In Kātyāyana's time they must have gone out of use, for he pulls up Pāṇini and says : अन्दसि इति वक्तव्यम् = "You ought to have said in the Vedas only." Kātyāyana certainly lived before Pātañjali, the commentator of both the authors. The date of the latter is fixed, as he clearly states that he was contemporary of Puṣpamitra in the second century B. C. Pāṇini must, therefore, have lived in the fourth century B. C. or even earlier. And this fits in with the date 400 B. C. of the original Mahābhārata as arrived at on other grounds.

This may, then, be the date of the second or third influx of the Iranians whose trace is to be found in the outer band of the Hindustani dialects and the Hindustani people. (Chand, 'The Indo-Aryan Races', Vol. I, pp. 75 and 248-249). Thus the negative evidence from the Vedic literature coupled with the positive evidence obtained from Pāṇini read along with Kātyāyana makes the internal evidence obtained from the genealogical list certain.

ABBREVIATIONS

Alt. Ind. = 'Alterthumskunde Indische', by Lassen.

Av. Gr. = Jackson's 'Avesta Grammar'.

Dic. = Mill's 'Dictionary of the Gâthâs'.

DRGI = 'The Different Royal Genealogies of Ancient India' (JBORS, 1920).

ERPP = Moulton's 'Early Religious Poetry of Persia'.

EZ = Moulton's 'Early Zoroastrianism'.

HPI = Hodivala, 'The Parsis of Ancient India'.

HV = 'Harivâňa.

IHT = Pargiter's 'Indian Historical Tradition'.

IHQ = 'Indian Historical Quarterly'.

JBORS = 'Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society'.

MBh = Mahâbhârata.

Rel. Ved. = RPV = Keith's 'Religion and Philosophy of the Vedas'.

SWB. = Sanskrit Wörterbuch.

VGS = 'Vedic Grammar for Students', by Macdonell.

VI = Macdonell's 'Vedic Index'.

VP = 'Viśnu Purâna'.

Yas. = The Avestan Yasna.

IRANIAN RESEARCHES BY EUROPEAN SCHOLARS—V

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The Pahlavî Codices K 20 and 20b containing Ardâgh Virâz Nâmagh, Bundahišn, etc. Published in facsimile by the University Library of Copenhagen. With an Introduction by Arthur Christensen. Copenhagen: Levin & Munksgaard 1931. 16 and 388 p. 2^o.

One cannot too much emphasise that in publishing a text from a manuscript carelessness in decipherment, slips of pen, and mistakes of the printer are all to be avoided. This can be easily and best done by issuing facsimile editions by some photographic process, which method is especially suitable and desirable for Pahlavî works, most of which are found in rare independent manuscripts, and which are written in a cursive script full of ligatures. It was also applied to certain texts very early, and later on a fund was started by the Parsis for this purpose on the recommendation of that great French Iranist Darmesteter. But the original plan of issuing facsimile editions has not strictly been adhered to, which is very regrettable indeed. Even European scholars have not paid any particular attention to this matter, partly due to lack of interest and other reasons as regards Pahlavî, although some of the best manuscripts are in the libraries of London and Oxford, Paris, Munich and Copenhagen. The last, however, makes a happy exception to our complaint. As early as 1851, Westergaard gave us the facsimile edition of the Bundahishn from

the Codex K₂₀, and later on in 1882 Andreas did the same regarding the Dâtastân i Mênôk i Khrat from the Codex K₄₃. It is a pity indeed that also the rest of the texts from the same and other old manuscripts were not made available in the same manner. However the authorities of the Library were by no means unaware of the importance of this task, and wanted to fulfil it too. In 1912, Dr. Eyser, one of its librarians, discussed about it at the sixteenth International Congress of Orientalists at Athens. But the Great War and other unfavourable circumstances did not allow the institute to translate its intention into action all this time. Now at last the great task has begun, thanks to the enterprising publishers Levin & Munksgaard; the first volume, a big folio in excellent get-up, is already published. It contains two manuscripts, K₂₀ and K_{20b}, with an introduction from the pen of Prof. Christensen.

K₂₀ is one of the few oldest Zoroastrian codices that have been preserved to us. It is copied from several MSS. of that great scribe Mihr-âwân Kay-Xusrav. This learned priest was invited in 1320 by a Parsi merchant of Thana, named Chahil, to come to India for copying religious writings and perhaps also for instructing his Indian brethren therein. He accepted this invitation and came first to Thana and worked there. Then he visited almost all the principal Parsi centres of those days, working all the time for his mission. These and various other details can be gathered from his colophons attached to the copies he took at the time. Most of these copies are now in Europe, Copenhagen alone having three of them, the Vendidâd or Vidêvdât manuscript K₁, the Yasna manuscript K₅, and this K₂₀ containing miscellaneous religious texts. These along with many others were brought by Rask in the beginning of the last century, and a short catalogue thereof was

prepared by Westergaard in 1846. They supplied very good materials for the different Avesta editions. As to K₂₀ we have already referred to the Bundahishn contained therein; it was later on used by Haug for his *Ardâ Virâf Nâma* and other texts in 1872, who gave its full contents also. Since then it has been variously used by other scholars for editions or translations or both, most recently by the present writer for the *Šayast-nê-šayast*, a Pahlavi Text on Religious Customs (Hamburg 1930). In my Introduction § 3 c to it I have dwelt upon the value of K₂₀ with respect to this text, which can be applied to other texts also, or it may even be increased, since the whole manuscript is not so carelessly written as in the particular case. However this may be, K₂₀ is absolutely necessary for settling the texts occurring in M₅₁ (formerly M₆) of the State Library of Munich, and is alone authoritative for those that do not occur in this sister manuscript, since there is no other independent copy. Under these circumstances the facsimile of the codex is the most welcome and highly useful gift. We very much wish that also the sister codex in Munich may similarly be made available to the student world. It has been preserved in a much better condition, and therefore its facsimile has been suggested by me in my above-mentioned work, but circumstances are not favourable for the execution of the plan. Let us however hope and wish that the appearance of K₂₀ may serve as an impetus to it and also to my still earlier suggestion about the unique manuscripts in Bombay, e.g. the Dēnkart MS., the TD MSS. in the library of Mr. Behramgore Anklesaria and others.

The other manuscript published herewith, *viz.*, K_{20b}, contains a portion of the Bundahishn, and its value lies in the fact that it is copied neither from K₂₀ nor from M₅₁, but from a third independent source. This was already

observed by West, and I have confirmed his view by collating the text here and there, whereby I have also found that it bears greater resemblance to K₂₀ than to M₅₁. But unfortunately the copy is not very carefully done and so we shall not be able to get much help from it. However, it has preserved something very important, a loose folio of its original which seems to be in the handwriting of the same great scribe Mihr-âwân Kay-Xusrav. This is not the first case in which he has prepared more than one copy of the same text or texts. And therefore an attempt should be made to find out the missing codex—or rather its different parts, since it was not complete at the time when K_{20b} was copied from it. In any case—whether it was so or not—it was certainly the source of the latter; the comparison of the loose folio with the corresponding part would show it to anybody. Moreover, the word Ganâk Ménük appears in the same strange form showing *âk* and *m* in a ligature *aym*, also in other parts. Another novelty, though not of any importance, is the calligraphical initial formula to be found in one of the folios, showing the influence of Modern Persian calligraphy. The formula itself is not correct, it being a poor attempt at rendering Persian into Pahlavi. A detailed discussion on this point will be found in my German review in the Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.

The order of the folios has been left as found in the manuscripts at present. Only the disorder in the two texts, Handarz i ôšnar and Šayast-né-šayast II, which I have investigated before, has been changed by Prof. Christensen according to my instructions. This disorder was due to the loose condition of the folios, and not to the mistake of the copyist or to the defect in his original. Moreover, the original numbering was defaced, and therefore a non-proficient hand made some mistakes while rearranging the folios. For instance, the person responsible

for the Gujarati numbering at the bottom placed the folio 167 after 168-170 (or did not observe that somebody had committed this mistake) and misnumbered them accordingly. This error was then repeated by European scholars. It is not quite clear as to who is responsible for the disorder in the Handarz folios. Both the top and the bottom numberings are mostly defaced or torn, but the fact that the Paris copy of K₂₀, which is taken later on, has not got this disorder shows that it must have occurred still later. Moreover, the top numbering is clear as regards the beginning of the text, the number is 145 which means 143 owing to the mistake committed at folio 97 for which is written 99; but Haug (and West) did not follow it while numbering the folios, see the note on page VI of the Book of Ardā Virāf, where the mistake has been corrected.

Besides this disorder there is a lacuna of about 30 lines after the first word on page 108 (see my Šāyast-nē-šāyast 2, 40 note 2). It cannot be said whether the scribe Mihr-awān is responsible for it or his original; the sister manuscript in Munich is free from this defect, and if both of them are copied from the same immediate source—and not from a more or less remote one, which can also be the case—then the lacuna has occurred through his mistake. For the dislocation, however, that I have found out he is not responsible, they occur in the Munich copy also. They are of such a character that neither the copyists nor the modern scholars have observed them, see my Šāyast-nē-šāyast 10, 25-29 and notes thereon.

In order to facilitate reference, Prof. Christensen has added a continuous pagination irrespective of the missing folios which were already numbered, (which means that they were lost after the last numbering was made). It would have been much better, had he marked the lines also. Then he has given in his introduction the exact places

where the texts begin and end, which is very useful indeed. We believe if this course be adopted for all the manuscripts in the library, it would serve our purpose easily and quickly. A descriptive catalogue on some great plan like that of Bartholomae's Zendhandschriften would cost a great deal of labour, time and money. The present series of facsimiles is to be continued, but we are not informed which manuscripts would be taken up for the purpose. Let us therefore suggest that the Dâtastân i Dênik should first be made available, since there exists only T. D. Anklesaria's incomplete edition of this text. The Dênkart copy is also very good; it contains fewer books than the Bombay copy in the Mulla Firoz Library, but it is superior to it in other respects. But all this depends upon the support the publication receives. We hope that the Parsis in particular and the oriental bodies in general will not fail to do the right thing in this matter.

Thumb, Albert: Handbuch des Sanskrit. Eine Einführung in das sprachwissenschaftliche Studium des Altindischen. Zweite Auflage.....von Hermann Hirt. Heidelberg 1930. Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung. XX, 538 p. 8°.

A short notice of this work will not be considered out of place here, because of the close relation of the subject.

Prof. Thumb's Handbuch des Sanskrit was the first work of its kind, treating Sanskrit from the historical and comparative standpoint. It was published in 1904, and was out of print for several years. It has, therefore, been re-issued by means of a photographic process with a number of additions by Prof. Hirt, the well-known authority on and author of Indogermanische Grammatik. The most of the additions are given in the appendix, but not without references in the text. They naturally deal with some linguistic problems; for Sanskrit grammar as such there

was nothing to change. Certain original drawbacks, like the omission of the accent which Prof. Thumb marked only in special cases, could not be removed. After all, the work has rendered great service in the past, and is expected to do so in the future also. Sanskrit words, etc., are given in the original script, which the Indians prefer, and also in the transcription, which the European scholars use. Comparisons in phonology and also in morphology are given mainly from Greek and Latin, these being the most important languages; but also other Indo-European languages are not neglected. Thus one can see in a way the nature and relation of all of them. The plan of the work is very convenient, and the matter has been clothed in a simple garb. In short, the book has a great pedagogic merit, as Prof. Hirt points out.

Jensen, Hans: Neupersische Grammatik mit Berücksichtigung der historischen Entwicklung. Heidelberg 1931. Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung. XVI, 320 p. 8°.

As to Persian, we feel a greater need for its historical grammar, because it has come under the influence of Arabic, a language belonging to quite a different family, and has been separated from its parent tongue: Old and Middle Persian. This is the case not only in India, but also in Europe. There are a number of good, bad, and indifferent what they call descriptive grammars of the Persian language, but for its historical treatment we have only the contribution of Horn to the *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie* (1898). Earlier attempts of Vullers and Darmesteter are antiquated, though not so the excellent Phonology in Hübschmann's *Persische Studien* (1895). This deficiency is due to the fact that owing to the nature of the Persian literature, it is cultivated by the Arabists and not by the Iranists. Even the present work of Prof. H. Jensen,

Neopersische Grammatik, does not claim to be a historical grammar, but it at least takes into account the historical development; forms, etc., are compared with their origins. The author should and could have added the phonology from the above-mentioned Grundriss just as he has done with other things. As a descriptive grammar, too, his work is not without defects. He has laid under contribution all the well known works of the kind, (I miss, however, the joint work of Platt and Ranking, and also the latter's Primer of Persian), and has himself gathered some materials from a few standard authors, both classical and modern. The usages of the vulgar and colloquial speech are similarly noted, especially from Phillott's Higher Persian Grammar. The most useful chapters are those that deal with the syntax about which very little is written. The Persian part is in Persian character with full diaeritical marks, though not always clear and not without misprints. The addition of transcription would have served a double purpose. The statement of grammatical and other facts is so simple and clear that both the beginner and the advanced can use the book with advantage. These few lines, we hope, will be enough for introducing it to our readers; on some other occasion we may review it more fully and critically, especially with reference to the historical part.

Waldschmidt, Ernst, and W. Lentz : Die Stellung Jesu im Manichäismus. Berlin 1926. Walter de Gruyter
131 p. and 4 plates, gr. 8°.

It was owing to sheer accident that the notice of this work was not given earlier. The authors deal with the position of Jesus in the religion of Mani, and that on the basis of the great roll preserved in London. This roll contains the Chinese version of a Middle Persian text, the greater part of which was in verse form as can be seen

from its mechanical preservation in the Chinese translation. One of the hymns is only transcribed in Chinese letters, which is as interesting as instructive for the phonology of Pahlavi. Besides giving the contents of the roll, the authors quote many passages from this text and other Iranian fragments and discuss them. A list of these is given at the end, but the index of words is unfortunately omitted. The Iranian fragments include also Sogdian pieces. The importance of the work is self-evident, for which the authors deserve best thanks.

Markwart, J.: A Catalogue of the Provincial Capitals of Érānshahr. (Pahlavi Text, Version and Commentary). Edited by G. Messina, Rome 1931. Pontificio Istituto Biblico. 120 p. 4°.

The late Prof. Markwart was a great authority on Iranian geography. His numerous works on the subject are full of research and are recognised as standard works. Hence the treatment of the Pahlavi text on the cities of Iran from his pen cannot but be welcome. We are thankful to Father Messina that he has edited this work of the great master. Therein are given a critical edition of the text—of course not from the MSS. but from the edition in Pahlavi Texts of Dastur Jamaspji Jamasp Asana—together with its transliteration and translation into English, and a detailed commentary. The index is prepared by Father Messina. It is unnecessary to enter into details here, for I shall have to do this in the publication of my prize-essay on the same text. It may, however, be added that the earlier ideograms are also transliterated into Hebrew and the later ones into Syriac letters, when they occur for the first time in the text. There are also other devices in the transliteration to mark the original orthography. The work is lithographed and not printed, apparently because of the use of various alphabets.

Reichelt, Hans: Die sogdischen Handschriftenreste des Britischen Museums. In Umschrift und mit Übersetzung II. Teil...Heidelberg 1931, Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung. VIII, 80 p. gr. 8°.

The first part of this work contained Buddhist texts. In the present part are given non-Buddhist texts and a supplement to the Buddhist texts. The former are the private letters and a fragment of an unknown legend about Rustam and his horse Raxš. Special pains are taken for the elucidation of the Sogdian letters. Copious notes are added to the translation and a complete glossary is also given. In the introduction Prof. Reichelt deals with the peculiarities of the script and the language of the letters, with the names of persons, peoples, and places occurring therein, and with their form, age, etc. Two of the letters are written by women, and they refer to personal affairs; others, dealing with business matters, come from men of different status. All this points to the importance of the documents from the standpoint of cultural history. Two fragments in Uiguri script are left untranslated. Facsimiles of all of them are given for the sake of control. One of the two Buddhist texts is a fragment of Vajracchedikā, various versions of which, like the Sakā one published by Prof. Konow, are also given here for comparison. With the publication of this work Prof. Reichelt has rendered great service to the cause of Sogdian. Now we eagerly look for his dictionary of this language.

Miller, W., and A. Freiman: Ossetisch-russisch-deutsches Wörterbuch (Osetinsko-Russko-Nemetskij Slowar) Herausgegeben und ergänzt von A. Freiman II. Leningrad, Izdatelstwo Akademii Nauk SSSR. 1929. VI, 619-1176 p. gr. 8°.

The first part of this monumental work was reviewed on a former occasion. Accidentally, the notice of the second

part was not given earlier. Prof. Freiman has again taken great pains in collecting further materials for the dictionary. Forms of both the dialects, Ironian and Digorian, are noted whenever met with. I need not repeat all that I have said in my detailed German review to be published in the *Indogermanische Forschungen*, but some interesting words, etc., may be noted to show the importance of the language for Iranistie.

Izär means 'evening', cf. Av. *uzayara* which word is not preserved in MP. and NP. where quite another term is used: *adapârak*, *êvâra*. There is a very important word *ird* 'light, clear, bright', inasmuch as it has preserved the original meaning of Av. *ərəta*, *aša* (celestial) light, light (of bliss). (See this Journal, No. 23, p. 293f.) It is also interesting to note that 'quite naked' is expressed 'naked as born from the mother' just as in NP., Gujarati, etc. The Ossetic is *madard bâynâg*, NP. is *lut i mâdarzâd*. Then there are words that allow us to make additions in the phonology of the language; others show some interesting developments in their meanings. The author quotes a great mass of popular sayings, proverbs, etc., which give us an insight into the life of the people.

After the publication of the third and last part, we hope that Prof. Freiman will oblige us with the etymological work on Ossetic.

Herzfeld, Ernst: *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*. Band IV, Berlin 1931-32. Dietrich Reimer.

The first two parts of the present volume of this excellent publication are devoted to Sakastân or Historical investigations for the Excavations at Kûh i Khwâja. The modern Sîstân, a Persian province about the Hâmûn sea, was called Zranka in the Achæmenian Inscriptions. This was the local name of the country; and Prof. Herzfeld,

upholding and extending the view expressed by Tomaschek that *-ng* is added to the stems for the formation of place-names by the Sagzi, says that the name was formed from *Av. eraya-*, OP. *draya-*, "sea". This name occurs as late as 310-11, the date of the Pahlavî inscription of Šâhpuhr Sakânsâh from the words "Persian nobles and Sakâ nobles and Zrangians." Prof. Herzfeld points out that Zrang was only a part of Sakastân about the extent of which kingdom he now adds that Cabul also belonged to it. It is first in the early 'Arabic' geographers that the wider term Sijistân is restricted to modern Sistân; such is also the case in the Pahlavî tract on Sagastân, but Prof. Herzfeld does not consider it earlier than the Arabic sources.

With the ethnic sense Sakâ-country occurs the name Sakastanê first in Isidoros where the Parthian provinces are described, the last three being Zarangianê, Sakastanê, and Arachosia. Prof. Herzfeld here examines the question of the sources of these details, and comes to the conclusion that in the last century before Christ the eastern frontier of the Parthian empire was the same as the modern Afghan-British, and that the satrapy Sakastanê was only the western division of ancient Arachosia, and that the name was ethnic-political which fact was possible only after the colonisation of the Sakâ in that part of the kingdom.

The next point that is discussed here is about the Sakâ up to the time of Alexander. The Inscriptions of Darius and the records of Herodotus leave no doubt that long before the time of Darius the Sakâ had a satrapy of their own in the empire. The legends about the death of Cyrus may be interpreted as or connected with the struggles for the annexation of their land. This satrapy was situated in the farthest NE corner of the empire, in *para sugda* as said in the gold inscription of Hamadân. Now *para sugda*, i. e., Trans-Sogdiana can naturally be only

beyond the mountains north of the Zarafshān, in the plains of the Syr Darya. Here then was the seat of the Sakā, in modern Farghāna. In this connection Prof. Herzfeld critically examines the notices of Herodotus, and declares that they cannot be admitted as counter-arguments; on the contrary, one may consider his Parikanioi in Media too as a Sakā stem, the one that gave the name Farghāna to the country. As a matter of fact there is no difference of opinion about the seat, etc., of the Sakā, for Strabo gives the same view in his notice about the nomads that put an end to the Greco-Bactrian kingdom. Thus nothing was changed up to the time of Alexander, although his historians used the term Skythian, which was wrongly applied to several different peoples from the name of the first Central Asian invaders. The Sakā were one people having linguistic, ethnic, and cultural unity, more closely related to the Iranians than even the Indo-Aryans.

Thirdly the author turns to the Sakā emigration and examines the date and value of the Chinese sources on the question. With all sorts of details and discussions, which cannot be repeated here, he shows that the Sakā were driven out from their home-land Farghāna in about 170, and that they settled at last in Arachosia. They must have used the same route which the Indians and the Iranians used before them: from the Oxus to Sarakhs via Marw, and from there to Herat through eastern Parthia or Khorāsān. It is natural then that the Sakā must have come in conflict with the Arsacide power, and this is now shown by Prof. Herzfeld in the next section.

A Sakā stem first occupied the western part of Parthia near the Caspian sea, and soon spread over the whole province, from the name of which they then got their own name Parthian. Strabo's description of Ariana shows that the term referred to the Parthian

kingdom of his time, and this term is nothing but *āryān* of the Sasanian inscriptions in the Parthian or Arsacide dialect. After relating the invasion of Antiochos III in Parthia Prof. Herzfeld gives the successful career of Mithradates I. It is not clear that he had to return to the east after the conquest of Media just because of the appearance of the Sakâ; but it is certain that it was this people with whom Phraates II had to deal. It was under Mithradates II that the Sakâ were conquered and their new home-land was included in the kingdom.

For the following period we have no help from the classical authors. Prof. Herzfeld has therefore collected here the data from the coins, etc., of the time. Then he turns to the history of the great families that ruled the different countries as vassals. They were as follows: the family Āturpâtkân of Āturpâtkân, the family Gêwpührân of Hyrcania, the family Kâran of Nihâvand, the family Mihrân of Ray, the family Aspâdpati of Tos, the family Frâtadâr of Pars; the family Sûrên of Sakastân. In connection with their relation to Mithradates the Great, the monument of this king at Bistûn is discussed and some of the vassals are identified. After a brief account of the Parthian kingdom under the female line follows a detailed account about the Sakâ and Sûrên in Sakastân under these themes: The coins before the time of Gundofarr; the titles 'king's brother' and 'brother's son', with reference to the Mathurâ inscription; the order of the kings before Gundofarr who was a Parthian, a Sûrên, and those were the Sakâ; the date of the Indian conquests of the Sakâ—the Šaka era; Gundofarr becomes independent on the one hand, and subdues a number of Sakâ princes on the other; his coins, some with king's brother, others with the king's nephew. After his son and successor Pakores, the Sakâ kingdom is divided into the Iranian part and the Indian

part, though Sindh remains with the former. Prof. Herzfeld says that although the loss of Gandhāra and the Panjab was due to the Kūṣān, the real fall of the Sakâ kingdom was the reannexation of the Iranian part together with Sindh to the Parthian kingdom under Volagases I. In the episode of Rustam and Aspandyâr the author sees this struggle. It was Prof. Markwart who suggested that the figure of Viśtâspa was based upon the historical person of Volagases I. Prof. Herzfeld develops this view. The king's brother Tiridates is Aspandyâr, and so to say the rebel prince Gundofarr is Rustam.

This interesting subject has been treated in the last chapter: Gundofarr in Legends and Sagas. Besides the Sâhnâma the following are connected with the subject: The Acts of Thomas, the legend of the Three Holy Kings, the Alexander Romance, and the Apollonius Novel. The ruins of Kûh i Khwâja, popularly known as the Castle of Rustam, are to be connected with Gundofarr.

The third and last part of the volume contains the following articles: Abdication of Darius, Old and New Mistakes,—both referring to the new inscription of Xerxes found at Persepolis, and Post-Sasanian inscriptions—that of Mil i Râdkân and those on silver bowls or dishes. The first article is the German version of “A New Inscription of Xerxes from Persepolis” (reviewed below); the second deals with some grammatical irregularities therein as well as in the inscription of Āryâramna. Prof. Herzfeld emphasises that the mistakes in the latter piece are such as were made by the people in their daily speech, whereas those in the former are the wrong constructions of the learned. The inscriptions of Darius are as a rule correct, simply because the scholars of his time were better, adds the author. With this generalisation supported by palæographical facts which can be observed in the originals (photographs, etc.)

only, he refutes the view held by Prof. Schaeder. I have already referred to this controversy in my review of Volume II (in this Journal, No. 22). It is not necessary to dwell on it in detail, but the title, etc. of Prof. H. H. Schaeder's pamphlet should be given: "Über die Inschrift des Ariaramnes", published in the Sitzungsberichten der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften Phil.-Hist. Klasse 1931, XXIII.

The Pahlavi inscription of Mil i Rādkān bears especial interest from the standpoint of paleography. Its photograph is given, and Prof. Herzfeld has added its copy together with Book Pahlavi and Modern Persian equivalents. As to inscriptions of the silver bowls or dishes, no photographs are given. All of these are fully discussed. The main facts may be reproduced in a separate article. That would be a better course than to attempt a summary as in the case of the first two parts.

It is not at all necessary to add even a single word as to the high value of this work. It is a real pity that there is no index without which one cannot find the numerous details scattered throughout the volume.

Herzfeld, Ernst: Iranische Denkmäler I. 1. Berlin 1932.
Dietrich Reimer.

In the very first part of his Archaeological Mitteilungen aus Iran, Prof. Herzfeld promised to issue a parallel series on the monuments of Persia. The discussions and theories may be revised sooner or later; and therefore it was a wise plan to keep the original monuments distinct from the discussion on same. Prof. Herzfeld could not proceed with this second series all this time, because, as he once wrote to the present writer, he had no technical assistance in Persia. But now the first fascicle lies before us. This great work is being published by the enterprising firm of D.

Reimer under the patronage of the Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft and the Archäologische Institut des Deutschen Reiches. The materials collected by Prof. Herzfeld since 1923 are immense and the task of publishing them seems almost impossible. But those who know the author's working capacity have little doubt about its fulfilment. The materials will be reproduced on plates with short and purely descriptive text. They will be arranged chronologically in the following groups:

1. Prehistorical monuments from five different localities;
2. Pre-Achaemenian rock monuments; 3. Achaemenian monuments in three sub-groups;
4. Seleucide-Arsacide monuments;
5. Sasanian monuments in three sub-groups;
6. Islamic monuments.

The beginning is made with the first group, for the publication of these most ancient materials was more urgent for the problems that have arisen through the recent excavations in China, India, Babylonia, Hettite territory, and Europe. They clear up the connections between great cultural developments. The ruins chiefly relating to ceramic art were excavated from a hillock near Persepolis dating from the stone age. They are reproduced here in 18 folio plates; and their description, etc. occupies 7 pages. The price 18 RM. can be called quite moderate for this highly important work which should find its place in every great public library.

Herzfeld, Ernst: A New Inscription of Xerxes from Persepolis. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago [1932]. 14 p. with 5 plates.

The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago has already been carrying on field researches in Anatolia, the western half of the Highland Zone, for some seven years. With the discovery and publication of the present royal record is marked its entrance upon a new field of

investigation, *viz.*, in the eastern half of the Highland Zone. For this purpose the Institute has secured the experienced co-operation of Prof. Herzfeld. Let us hope that many discoveries will be brought through this happy combination.

The new inscription is the foundation document discovered in the so-called "south-east palace" of Persepolis which is now proved to have been the harem of Darius and Xerxes. The tablet contains 48 lines in Old Persian. Its photograph from a squeeze is given here on two plates; the other plates show Xerxes as heir to the throne leaving the palace, then as Great King in the same condition, and lastly as Co-regent standing beside Darius enthroned as Great King.

This inscription is not free from grammatical irregularities, which are not discussed here, but only in the German study reviewed above. The historical details, however, are given a due prominence. They are: 1. The father and grandfather of Darius were living when he became king; 2. Xerxes was appointed heir to the throne, although there were other (elder) sons; 3. Xerxes ascended the throne 'when Darius went away from the throne'. The first two facts are not new; but their interpretation by Prof. Herzfeld is novel. He says that "the succession was in contradiction of old custom and usage" and that "it was sanctified only by a special expression of Ahuramazdâ's will (*kâma*)". Now as to Darius's father and grandfather, they cannot have any right to the throne gained by him through his own courage and power from a third party. As to Xerxes, there was not only the influence of his mother, but also the argument suggested by Demaratus that "he (X.) was born to Darius after he had become king, and was possessed of the empire of the Persians; whereas Artabazanes was born to Darius while he was yet a private

person." (Herodotus VII. 3). In any case, Prof. Herzfeld unnecessarily emphasises and perhaps misinterprets "by the grace of Ahuramazdā." As to the third statement wherein he sees the abdication of Darius he is certainly wrong. This is not only unknown to Greeks, but even the Babylonian business documents do not allow such an occurrence. Moreover, the tone of Xerxes would be quite different—not so full of reverence and respect for his father, had there been an abdication. Prof. Herzfeld cannot but see this conclusion, because he is mistaken in believing that *gāvū* does not occur in the sense of 'place' in Old Persian, which it very often does. It is quite possible that 'to depart from the place' is an euphemism for 'to die', but where is the novelty or necessity of this fact being mentioned?

Prof. Benveniste offers another suggestion in his excellent study on this inscription, in the Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique, 1932, p. 150. He connects the clause in question with the appointment of Xerxes as regent when Darius was to march against Egypt shortly before his death, that is, Darius left the throne to him, but without any idea of abdication. This is more probably in the light of Herodotus VII, 2, but one might feel that the event should have been expressed differently. It may also be added that Prof. Benveniste explains some words in another manner, e.g. *apyiy*, which is taken by Prof. Herzfeld as *apiy*, "also", is read *apayaiy*, "preserved", which is better.

Meillet, A., and E. Benveniste: Grammaire du Vieux-Perse. 2. Edition. Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion 1931. P. XXIV, 266, 8^o.

The well-known French comparative philologist Prof. Meillet published his excellent grammar of the Old Persian Language in 1915. The edition, it is true, was limited to 300 copies; but its being out of print within a short time

must be considered unique and significant in the case of such a work, and so it speaks volumes in favour thereof. Scholars and public institutions in the various parts of the world strived to secure copies of this valuable book, but we very much doubt whether a single person in Bombay and for the matter of that in India cared for same. We hope, however, that no such negligence will be shown now, when a thoroughly revised and enlarged edition is again available. This new task was entrusted to the prominent, all-round Iranist Prof. Benveniste who has carried it out most successfully. He has availed himself of the new inscriptions brought to light and made accessible in recent years as well as of the new researches in later Iranian dialects, which have made a considerable progress. Thus he has added a greater number of details on the one hand, and has more precisely tackled the dialectal question on the other. Some of the paragraphs are entirely new, those on numerals, prepositions and adverbs.

After a principal bibliography there follows a very learned introduction occupying some thirty-six pages. Originally it was my intention to mention some salient points from it, but it would be much better to translate the whole of it, which task might best be done separately and not in a review.

The grammatical part deals with phonology, accidence, and also syntax. The treatment is of course from the standpoint of comparative philology; and there is no lack of details. Besides, the reader will find therein solution of difficult words and passages. The index of discussed words is given at the end. One point is missing: we should have liked to know what the authors think of the theory of Prof. Friedrich of Leipzig who tried to scan the inscriptions according to the laws of Avestan metre some years ago.

We close this brief notice with sincere thanks to the authors and with the hope and belief that their grammar may serve as a great impetus to the further and deeper study of the Old Persian inscriptions which are coming to light in greater numbers.

Hertel, Johannes: *Yašt 14, 16, 17. Text Übersetzung und Erleuterung. Mithra und Frəxšā* (=Indo-Iranische Quellen und Forschungen VII.) Leipzig, H. Haessel 1932. P. XXVI, 258. 8°.

In this and the following work Prof. Hertel continues his meritorious and successful labours towards the new interpretation of the Avesta. There are a number of scholars who do not see eye to eye with the learned author, but none of them has sufficiently tried to point out where and how far the novel views and theories put forward by him are erroneous. It is quite possible that certain matters are stretched too far, but generally speaking I am convinced of the correctness and at all events of the usefulness of Prof. Hertel's researches. On several occasions I have had opportunities to show how the later Iranian writings, especially those in Pahlavī, find mutual support and help from them, not only in the doctrine of fire and light, but sometimes also in other details.

It may be supposed that hardly anything new can be said about the Yaštś in question; and yet the reader will find many an interesting and instructive detail in the introduction and notes added to them. The texts are transcribed with due regard to metrical and other laws, and they are translated anew. Moreover, there are special investigations on the following terms: Sk. *citti*, *citti* "radiation of the (im)mortal light powers", Av. *cisti*- "illumination, elucidation", and the cognate words; Av. *râ-*, "to radiate celestial light" and the cognate words;

Sk. *sap-*, Av. *hap-* "to ablaze"; Sk. *r̥tā-*, Av. *aši-*, "the celestial light already radiated on earth" as distinguished from *aša-*, "all-embracing celestial light to be found both in heaven and on earth" (for this term see his Beiträge reviewed in No. 23 of this Journal); Av. *vərəθrayna-*, "killing of enemies"; Av. *čistā-*, "the radiated radiation", being an abbreviation of *čistiš*, *čistā*. The last two terms are fully examined in order to grasp the true signification of their respective Yašt. The former of them represents a fire of victory which cult has superseded another fire of victory, namely, the *hvarənah*. (The present writer has given some details on the relation, etc. of the two cults in Orient. Literaturzeitung 1933, col. 563, especially from the Kārnāmay.) The figure has nothing to do with Sk. Vṛtrahan with which episode Prof. Hertel connects that of Hroxša. The second term *čistā-* refers to the light of perception or discernment and as such is identical with *daēnā- māzdayasni-*; hence the title *dēn yašt*. As usual the author has added the lists of discussed passages and words (this time with their meanings) and other things. The Foreword, it should be noted, contains a very useful table showing the real and original value and misuse of Av. letters, the latter being due partly to letter-glosses as shown by Prof. Hertel and partly to other known reasons. In short, the present work like its predecessors will form a constant reference book for which we are thankful not only to the learned author, but also to the enterprising publisher who brought it out, since it was not possible to include it in the following work.

Hertel, Johannes: Die Awestischen Herrschafts und Siegesfeuer. Mit Text, Übersetzung und Erleuterung von Yašt 18 und 19 (=Abhandlungen der phil.-hist. Kl. der sächsischen Akad. d. Wissenschaften. Bd. XLI Nr. VI). Leipzig, S. Hirzel 1931. P. XVI, 206. 4°.

In this work the Yaṣts 18 and 19 are treated in the same manner as in the preceding work. Their theme is expressed in the title of the work: The Fire of Sovereignty and Victory in the Avesta, namely, the *X'arənah* or as is now read *hvarənah*. Xenophon's relation about the appearance of a light which assured the Iranian army of victory over the enemy whom it pursued is identified with the belief in this divinity in the Foreword. A somewhat similar account I have quoted from the *Kārnāmay* in the above-mentioned place. It is this sign which is depicted in the form of flames around the heads of kings and prophets—also in the non-Iranian countries, for instance, in India where it is called *tejas*. And everywhere it points to physical strength and power, and not to holiness as is generally believed. Yt. 19 consists of three distinct parts: like the initial formula, the first eight paragraphs are the latest addition. This is made with the object of including the whole Persian territory, occupied by the mountains mentioned in them, in the beneficial effects of the offer ceremony. Hence also the title *Zam-Yašt*: *Yašt* for (the possession and prosperity of) the earth. The second addition consists of §§ 45-69 treating of the lightless (*ahūrti-*) *hvarənah*; the rest the royal one. All this is here shown in and with a critical analysis which should be read and studied fully. Yt. 18 is one of the latest pieces composed in corrupt language. Its title is not properly explained, for if Av. *arštāt-* were to mean "uprightness, justness", we absolutely fail to see anything of it in the contents of the piece. Prof. Hertel therefore derives it from *ar-*, "to radiate (celestial light)", and signifies it as "the condition of being radiated, (regular) radiation". This suits the theme of the text, namely, the Aryan or Iranian *hvarənah*; and the epithets of the Yazata "furtherer of the world", etc., also support that.

After the treatment of these Yaštis there is given a special dissertation on *hvarənah-*; and then follow similar ones on *apām napāt-* (the fire of lightning) in the Avesta and in the Rgveda, and, in this connection, on Nairyasamha-, xšaθra-naptar- etc., the former with its Indian parallels. Hereby many a passage is fully discussed and translated. As an appendix is added "The Fire of Sovereignty in Manu's Law Book". In short, not only the Iranist but also the Indianist will welcome this erudite work.

Kent, Roland G.: The recently published Old Persian Inscriptions. (Reprinted from Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. 51, pages 189-240).

Prof. Kent of the University of Pennsylvania, who has done some useful work in the field of ancient Iranian languages, offers here his study and researches on the Old Persian Inscriptions recently published by Father V. Scheil in the 21st Vol. of 'Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique de Perse.' Father Scheil's own work on them with some additional matter is made accessible in English by Dr. Unvala, but that being a pioneer attempt is faulty in various respects. Prof. Roland takes us a step further both in restoration and interpretation of the texts, whereby he avails himself of Prof. Benveniste's article on them in the 'Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris', 30. But later on Prof. Herzfeld, who strongly criticizes, Father Scheil's method of restoration and publication, has offered us a very careful edition of the principal inscription in all the three versions with a detailed commentary in his 'Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran,' Band 3. He has called it there 'Die Magna Charta von Susa', which might mislead English readers. I regret that in my short notice thereon in this Journal I forgot to add that the inscription in question is a record of the palace, mentioning the

materials and the peoples employed in its construction. It may be observed that the two scholars widely differ in the restoration of this highly important and no less interesting document. Prof. Herzfeld is of course an experienced archaeologist and has also command over the languages in question. His views therefore deserve our first attention. Moreover, Prof. Roland's restoration is only provisional and, as he informs me, he is preparing a supplementary article. In the present work he has treated also the minor inscriptions, and added a grammatical summary on the one hand and concordance and glossary on the other. Thus he has supplied a companion volume to Tolman's standard work on the former inscriptions in English.

Christensen, Arthur: 'Les Kayanides'. Copenhagen 1932. P. 165. 8°.

With reference to the date of Zoroaster and early history of Iran the personages designated as Kavis in the Avesta play an important part. Prof. Herzfeld sees in them nothing but the representations of Median and early Persian kings known in history. Thus he does not only identify the kings of the same name, *viz.*, Vištâspa with Hystaspes, but also of different names, *e.g.*, Haosravah with Cyrus. But Prof. Christensen holds that the legendary traits in the history of these kings, which are attributed to the Kayânids in Middle Persian and other books, are quite ancient themes, partly Indo-Iranian or even Indo-European and partly perhaps borrowed from non-Iranian peoples; and that these themes, having always preserved their popularity, recur often. They, therefore, do not mean the identification of the persons to whom they are applied. Nor does the similarity in names prove much, for ancient names are fondly given to children. But the main argument with which Prof. Christensen rejects the

identification of the two Vištāspas is based on Prof. Benveniste's contention that there is no trace of Zoroaster's reform in the religion of the Achæmenids. This is, I believe, an extreme view based on rather slender and negative evidence. Prof. Herzfeld stands on the other extreme when he sees allusions to the words of the prophet in the inscriptions of Darius and others, both in and out of season. However this may be, everybody will welcome the present monograph wherein the religious as well as the national tradition of the Kayānids is laid bare in a lucid manner. Some side-issues are also discussed, e. g., on the sources of the Greater Bundahišn. (As to note 2 on p. 84 I may here add that my second communication on the passage in question did not reach Prof. Christensen; I have given it now in another connection, see my forth-coming 'Šūr Sax'an' or "A Dinner-Speech", in Middle Persian.) The remarks on the composition of the Yaštis are also worth noting: three main elements are distinguished and ascertained in the older pieces, *viz.*, original or pre-Zoroastrian matter, early Zoroastrian additions, and later additions. As to the crucial family name *naotara*, Prof. Christensen does not consider "younger [branch]" as its suitable meaning; he even doubts whether Vištāspa belonged to this family or not. He however places him (and with him of course Zoroaster) in the beginning of the Achæmenian era, for no Kavi is mentioned after him, and therefore this eastern dynasty must have fallen into decay and ultimately the territory was annexed by the new power.

Minorsky, V.: 'La Domination des Dailamites'. Paris
1932. Librairie Ernest Leroux. P. 26. 8°.

This brochure is the third number of the 'Publications de la Société des Etudes Iraniennes et de l'Art Persan'. The first two numbers are not available to me, therefore the

third only is being noticed here. It is from the pen of that well-known authority on Persian geography and history Prof. Minorsky. The subject is the little known history of the Dailamites. Their country is still less known. It is not the district of Dailamān in Gilān, which is a mere rest or even a colony of ancient Dailam which extended far in the south and the east. This Iranian tribe exercised a great influence between 928 and 1055. The Dailamites and especially the dynasty of the Büyids freed the country from the foreign yoke, and ushered the era of Persian renaissance, just as the Samanids had done a little before in the eastern part of the country. Prof. Minorsky has put together all the details about the country and the people, their origin and spread, domination and downfall. The authorities are cited at the end in the form of notes.

Junker, H.: Ein Bruchstück der Afrinaghān i Gāhānbār (Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächs. Akad. d. Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Phil-hist. Kl. 84. Band, 5. Heft, 1932) S. Hirzel. Leipzig 1932.

The main interest of this fragment lies in its being written in a peculiar script and orthography, whereby an attempt is made to phonetically express the sounds of later Middle Persian with Pahlavī signs and diacritical marks. As a rule this is done with the rich and unambiguous Avesta alphabet, the process or the result being known as the Pāzand. Prof. Junker means to say that there was no fixed system for this Pāzand or transliteration, and that the regularity in the *škand gumāniy vizār* is due to its being an original composition and not a transliteration. This, I believe, is not a correct view. That the said text is a transliteration from the original Pahlavī is attested by none other than Neryosang himself at the beginning of its Sanskrit version. Only the original Pahlavī is not preserved by chance. This we have for the *Dādastūn i mēnūy*

i xrad, the Pâzand of which is even superior. The fact is that only the later attempts at transliteration are poor in more than one respect owing to the natural deterioration of the knowledge of the language. As to the prayer texts there was also another reason: copyists more often than not wrote what they had learnt by heart for recitation, and not from the MS. before them; and their recitation was no doubt far from exact owing to changed circumstances.

Secondly, the fragment is not prepared direct from its Pahlavî original, but from the Pâzand of the latter. (Prof. Junker perhaps means the same thing when he speaks of the dependence of the new process on the Pâzand model, p. 14.) For the justification of my view one has only to mark certain orthographical and other peculiarities (*e.g.* the old *d* appearing as the *t* with a dot above it) which occur only in pseudo-Pahlavî texts re-transcribed from the Pâzand. Such attempts are met with in MSS. found in India and prepared by Indian Dasturs: whereas nothing of the sort is known from the pen of their Persian brethren. Therefore the present attempt must be attributed to an Indian scribe. Prof. Junker however sees Persia as the origin because of the *i* pronunciation of *î* or *ô* occurring in the fragment. But this phenomenon can be otherwise accounted for: the Pâzand with the said peculiarity was prepared in Persia, and from it the present attempt in India.

In order to give a phonetical garb and value to the text a number of extra signs and diacritical marks are laid under contribution. Some of these marks are occasionally used in the Pahlavî MSS. for the sake of clearness. The points in different numbers and different positions are adopted from the Modern Persian alphabet; but the mark for the *d* sound is derived by Prof. Junker from the Sasanian or Parsîy *d* sign of the inscriptions. I do not see any sufficient reason for this proposition. Like the other diacritical marks

that for *d* also must have been brought into use by the copyists, who of course knew nothing about the inscriptions. Its origin too must be seen in the Modern Persian script; we may take it as a turned or curved *d* of the latter. But it may be argued why and how the copyists came to designate the *d* sound when it was long changed into that of *y*. This might point to the earlier origin of the diacritical mark, and consequently to the view of Prof. Junker.

Prof. Junker first ascertains the value and use of the extra signs, etc. Then he transcribes the fragment adding variorum readings from parallel pieces. Lastly he gives the translation with critical and exegetical notes. All this he has done with his usual thoroughness and one can gather a rich harvest from it. It is a pity that the author has not added any index. We cannot enter into details here, but one point may be mentioned by way of illustration. Prof. Junker rejects the etymology of *gâhânbâr* given by Prof. Nyberg, *viz.*, “*gâhân* or *gâdhâ* bearing”, and suggests that the word has resulted from *gâhân-hanbâr* by means of a haplological disappearance of one syllable. I on my part believe that the original word is to be separated into *gâh* and *(h)anbâr*, “season-collection or meeting (festival)”; *gâhân* is not necessary and even less suitable. Also the Pâzand or traditional transcription in Av. and NP. alphabet, *viz.*, *gâhanbâr* or *gahanbâr*, supports my view; and so does the varying orthography in the present fragment.

The author has done a further service in giving the original in facsimile. It will be of some use for Iranian palæography, besides enabling us to clearly see how the highly ambiguous Pahlavi script is made more or less intelligible and unequivocal. The attempt is not particularly happy; and it is very probably a specimen of an

individual person and not that of a school. However this may be, Prof. Junker deserves our thanks for making it available in such an excellent manner.

Konow, Sten: Saka Studies. Oslo 1932 (Agents: Luzac & Co.) P. VII, 198. 4°. £ 1-5-0.

Up to the beginning of the present century we knew nothing about the language of the peoples or tribes referred to as Sakâ in the ancient writings. It was from the fund of manuscript remains brought from Chinese Turkistan that this unknown tongue like several others has been brought to light. Prof. Konow, who has published a number of the texts in this language, called it in the beginning Old Kotani from the place where the MSS. were found. Prof. Leumann, who too had a lion's share in the same direction, named it persistently and throughout North Aryan, believing that it was a third independent Aryan tongue beside the Indian and the Iranian in the east and the west respectively. Prof. Lüders however designated it as the language of the Sakâs who occupied Northwest India from the first century A.C. and the names of whose kings—*i. e.*, of the Sakâ Kṣatrapas—showed the same characteristic traits as this new tongue. And Prof. Reichelt supported this view in his brilliant sketch of the language which he supplied us in 1912 from the scanty materials that were then available. He demonstrated there that the language, when freed from the numerous Indian loan-words, appears as one of the eastern Iranian dialects.

The Sakâ texts and fragments, like those of the sister dialect, the Sogdian, also known from the same fund, are in the main translations of Buddhist works; but unlike them, they are in the Brâhmî script. Since this script contains different signs for the different quality and quantity of vowels, it affords a great help as regards phonology. In the present

work Prof. Konow gives us the fragments of the *Samghāta-sūtra* along with their English translation and Tibetan version. A part of these fragments is already published by Prof. Leumann and others; but the rest, procured by Sir George Macartney, is quite new. Another small but interesting piece deals with the religious signification and value of the letters. But the most important part, for which the present work will remain the author's *magnum opus* in the field of Sakā studies, is the exhaustive grammar—phonology, accidence, etc.—and the complete glossary of all the known texts. This will indeed supply a much broader basis for the further and deeper study of the language, which task the author very modestly leaves to a comparative philologist well versed in the Iranian dialects, old and new. But Prof. Konow has not totally left out etymologies and the like. These may of course be corrected and supplemented from the materials supplied and arranged by him. I have done this in German for several words. See 'Orientalistische Literaturzeitung'. We are indeed very thankful to the great Norwegian scholar for his excellent work, and hope that other scholars too will oblige us by publishing the texts in their charge.

Herzfeld, E.: 'Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran.'

Band V. p 152. RM 20. Berlin 1932-33, Dietrich Reimer.

The fifth volume of this very important publication contains some essays in Old Oriental Archaeology, which have arisen from Prof. Herzfeld's contribution 'Kunst Vorderasiens' to the new edition of Müller's 'Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft' by Walter Otto. Both should be read together for properly appreciating and understanding the views of the author. The first essay is entitled History and Pre-History, the second is on Seals. But these studies are not the only things to be found here;

the last part contains three other articles which deal with Iranian history and Iranian art.

Leaving aside the brief notes on some recent studies, we shall examine the first article only. The details about Smerdis and pseudo-Smerdis are subjected to a critical examination, and with great ingenuity the conflicting views are brought into harmony and unity. As to the Old Persian account given by King Darius, we may note that Prof. Herzfeld reads the ambiguous word *ārika-* or *āraika-* as *āhraika*, and translates it as "Ahrimanian," see the discussion in Vol. 3, p. 76 f. Bartholomae already derives the term from *ahra-* *anra-*, although he takes it in the sense of "inimical"; whereas Meillet and Benveniste simply think of Sk. *ari-* "enemy". In this connection we may note that the corresponding Babylonian version is "of wicked heart", which too points to the religious rather than to the political shade or origin of the idea. Secondly, scholars have been in doubt whether accident or suicide is referred to in the statement that Cambyses died "by his own death", the doubt being raised from the account of Herodotus, 3. 64. This runs as follows: "But as he was leaping on his horse, the chape of his sword's scabbard fell off, and the blade, being laid bare, struck the thigh; being wounded in that part where he himself had formerly smitten the Egyptian God Apis." Now, as Prof. Herzfeld observes, the last point shows that the legend of accident is fabricated by the Egyptian enemies of Cambyses, and therefore we need not attempt to harmonise it with the above statement which clearly speaks of suicide, "one's own death" (*x)uvāmršiyuš*, cf. (*x)uvāipašiya* "one's own possession or property". Then in Ctesias's notice, that Cyrus appointed the second son Tanyoxarkes as a governor of eastern provinces free from tribute, beside the first son as the king, Prof. Herzfeld

sees the reason why the latter murdered his brother. It should also be noted that Cambyses himself was a wretch both bodily and mentally, whereas Smerdis was well-known for his herculean strength and gigantic body to which points his just mentioned epithet and other stories. Moreover Prof. Herzfeld applies the supposed name Patizeithes to him as his title *pātiyāzāti*, expressing his right to the throne. The two other names that occur in this drama, *viz.*, Gometes and Oropasta, are taken to be the name and the title of the Magus. The former requires no explanation; the latter has a variant Coropasta which Prof. Herzfeld compares with Av. *kərəθwan*, and explains as Cor[d]opasta, "vice-regent (of the empire)", appointed by Cambyses during his Egyptian expedition. There remains the last name Spendadates which is Spēntōdata, the son of Vištāspa, in the Av. and later religious and legendary literature. The only person in the drama to whom it can be applied is King Darius, which is his throne name, the other being his original name.

Here I have mentioned only some of the principal facts deduced by the great scholar in this essay the whole of which should be reproduced with explanatory additions. This is however not the occasion for it. There is one doubtful point: as to the Letter of Tansar the author says that it is translated from Pahlavī, whereas the common view is that it is done from the Arabic version thereof. And this is true, otherwise there would not have been such rich use of Arabic words in the extant form. Hence the argument about *framān i šāhān* does not hold good, even if we do not press the great difference between this term and *póryótkēśān*. One cannot too much praise the work done by this all-round author.

Andreas, F. C., and Walter Henning: Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan I, II. Berlin 1932-1933. P. 50 and 72. 8°.

In 1904 when the late Prof. F. W. K. Müller deciphered some fragments in an unknown script brought to Berlin from Chinese Turkistan, it was known that they were composed in the Middle Persian language and that they dealt with the defunct religion of Mani. In the same year he published a pretty large number of these fragments in transcription and translation; but ever since then nothing was done for the rest of them, except some occasional study on an individual fragment. The late Prof. Salemann adopted a much better method of making the original fragments accessible in facsimile at Leningrad besides their transcription and translation, with glossary, etc. It was, moreover, he who re-edited the materials supplied by Prof. Müller, constructing grammar, glossary and other useful matter. The task of bringing out some further fragments in Berlin was entrusted to the late Prof. Andreas of Göttingen, but he as well as the first decipherer disappointed the learned world, since they did not publish the result of their labours during their life-time. Happily, however, Prof. Andreas instructed several of his pupils in the mysteries of these documents; and one of them Dr. Henning has now published the text in Hebraic transcription with German translation, copious notes from parallel sources, and complete glossary. The fragments are in the SW dialect, and hence useful for our Pahlavî. Those treated in the first part deal with cosmogony, those in the second with diverse matters like the superiority of Mani's own religion, the first three out of the ten commandments for the auditors, *i. e.*, laymen, dogmas on the relation of the soul, body, and "spirit of the body" and about the necessity of knowledge for salvation (this part is said to be in Mazdean style), missionary activities, duties, etc., of the laymen, and lastly some hymns. This gives some idea of the importance of

the work which is very much increased by the learned notes and references from other sources. Then there occur new words and forms that are sure to interest the student of the language. We really regret that one has to look for them in both the parts. The author could have given the glossary in one place with necessary marks for novel terms; or he should have added a special note on them. To do this here in a review is also not suitable. But one essential detail may well be mentioned. In the formerly published fragments the word for "there" was *ôd*, ôð which led Salemann to declare the Pâzand *ânîy* from *ânôð* as a mistake; but the new fragments contain *ânîh* showing once again that the Pâzand is free from mistakes other than clerical ones. The three plates give specimens of the original in facsimile. In the end let us hope that Dr. Henning may continue his meritorious and successful efforts in this field of studies which he has made his own as can also be seen from his two articles in the 'Göttingen Nachrichten' and Doctor Dissertation in the 'Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik'. For the present publication our thanks are due not only to him, but also to the Berlin Academy for seriously taking up the matter.

Andreas, F. C., and Kaj Barr: Bruchstücke einer Pehlevi Übersetzung der Psalmen. Berlin 1933. P. 64, Plates 11. 80.

These highly interesting fragments of a Pahlavî translation of the Psalms were brought by the late Prof. Le Coq along with other Christian manuscripts in Syriac and Sogdian. In 1910 the late Prof. Andreas published a short notice about them identifying the contents for the first time and making some remarks on the script, etc. The translation is done, according to him, neither earlier nor later than the sixth century, for on the one hand it contains the so-called "Farcings" of the Psalms (elsewhere known as

their "Canons") attributed to Mâr Abhâ, the chief of the Syrian Church from 540 to 552, and on the other it exhibits the letters in the same ancient form as on the coins of Xusrov I. But Dr. Barr observes that the fragments contain marks of accent (introduced for the use of the MS. in service) which do not occur in the Syriae MSS. of the sixth century but first in those of the seventh. Moreover, some graphical peculiarities also point to a later date. Prof. Andreas himself intended to edit this unique MS., but somehow or the other he did not translate his intention into action all these years. This work is now done by one of his pupils, Dr. Barr of Copenhagen. He has used the materials left by the former in his own handwriting or in the notes taken down by his pupils. The text is transcribed in Hebraic letters; the Syriae version, from which it is prepared, is interlined; and below is given the German translation. In the critical notes Dr. Barr points out where the text follows other variants and the Hebraic version; and in the glossary he explains all the words with various details. The plates contain the original text in facsimile. This was a very wise plan, for which we are especially thankful to the Berlin Academy which has arranged for the whole publication. Dr. Barr, who has here filled up the gaps found in the materials supplied to him, prepares a full treatment of the language and orthography of these Psalms. This will be a very useful study. In the meantime the present work will serve its full purpose. One general fact may be here repeated that the orthography in this MS. is free from the defect of ambiguity of our Pahlavi MSS., and thus the reading of many a word will be more satisfactorily settled. On the other hand, however, there are pseudo-historical or inverse writings which might lead to wrong conjectures and conclusions. Dr. Barr, we hope, will deal with all these questions before long in his promised study and lay us under further obligation.

Waldschmidt, Ernst, and Wolfgang Lentz: 'Manichäische Dogmatik aus Chinesischen und Iranischen Texten'. Berlin 1933. P. 130. 8°.

The present work is a continuation of what the authors offered in 1926, *viz.*, selections from the Roll of Manichean hymns in Chinese brought to London with Middle Iranian parallels from the Turfan collection at Berlin. Dr. Waldschmidt is responsible for everything essentially Chinese, Dr. Lentz for Iranian. Two hymns from the Roll are made the basis of the present study; the longer one is that of general invocation and praise, the shorter one is used on the receipt of repast. The former refers to the gods of cosmogony as well as to the bringer, the attributes, and effect of salvation. The Chinese text and its translation are given in parallel columns. The detailed commentary is the result of the joint labours of both the authors. The Iranian texts, which are solely treated by Dr. Lentz, fall within three groups: Sogdian, NW. Persian and SW. Persian. They are transcribed in Hebraic and translated into German on the same pages, and then commented upon at large. The texts made available and explained here give a much fuller picture of Manichean dogmas than what is met with elsewhere. They are full of technical terms. The authors have for the present put aside all the religious, historical and linguistic questions that were not absolutely essential. This they propose to do with respect to the present work as well as the former one in the near future. Till then we have here a large collection of materials, explanations and references, for which all concerned will be highly indebted, although it will not be easy to follow same, without any index, etc. We eagerly await the concluding work whereby one may better appreciate the labours spent upon these interesting and important documents. The two plates give the specimens of Sogdian fragments in facsimile. This work too is published by the Berlin Academy.

THE K. R. CAMA ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

ANNUAL REPORT, 1933

The Executive Committee of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute submits its report for 1933.

Members

At the end of 1932, there were 205 life members. There were seven deaths during the year, besides two in the previous years not recorded. The number was thus 196 at the end of the year.

Out of the 61 ordinary members at the end of 1932, there were two deaths and three resignations during this year. Thus, the number was reduced to 56 at the end of the year.

The Committee records with regret the passing away of the following members:—

Life members

1. Shams-ul-Ulama Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi,
Kt., C.I.E., B.A., Ph.D., LL.D. (28-3-1933),
2. Sorabji Edalji Warden, Esq. (4-4-1933),
3. Gushtasp Kaikhusrus Nariman, Esq. (4-4-1933),
4. Dosabhoj Manekji Wadia, Esq. (20-6-1933),
5. Dr. Kavasji Edalji Dadachanji (28-11-1933),
6. Behramji Navroji Gamadia, Esq. (2-12-1933),
7. Kaikhusrus Khurshedji Lalkaka, Esq. (30-12-1933).

Ordinary members

1. Hormusji P. Tata, Esq. (27-4-1933),
2. Kaikobad Behramji Marzban, Esq. (4-8-1933).

Trustees of the Institute

1. *Shams-ul-Ulama Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi,
Kt., C.I.E., B.A., Ph.D., LL.D. (1914),
2. *Sorabji Edalji Warden, Esq., J.P. (1914),
3. Kazi Kabiruddin, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, J.P.
(1914),
4. Rustam K. R. Cama, Esq., B.A., LL.B., Solicitor
(1916),
5. Diwan Bahadur Krishnalal M. Jhaveri, M.A.,
LL.B., Advocate (1916),
6. R. P. Masani, Esq., M.A. (1916),
7. Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim, 3rd Baronet (1928).

The Executive Committee

President

M. P. Khareghat, Esq., I.C.S. (Retired).

Vice-Presidents

*Sorabji Edalji Warden, Esq., J.P.,

*Shams-ul-Ulama Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Kt.,
C.I.E., B.A., Ph.D., LL.D.

Honorary Treasurer

Kaikhasru H. Cama, Esq.

Ex-officio Members

Kazi Kabiruddin, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, J.P.,

Rustam K. R. Cama, Esq., B.A., LL.B., Solicitor,

Diwan Bahadur Krishnalal M. Jhaveri, M.A., LL.B.,
Advocate,

R. P. Masani, Esq., M.A.,

Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim, Bart.

* Now deceased.

Members

Miss Serene M. Cursetji,
 Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, M.A., Ph.D.,
 R. F. Gorvala, Esq., M.A.,
 B. N. Dhabhar, Esq., M.A.,
 P. K. Motiwala, Esq., M.A., LL.B.,
 Prof. N. D. Minocherhomji, B.A.,
 Prof. A. B. Gajendragadkar, M.A.,
 Dr. Irach J. S. Taraporevala, B.A., Ph.D., Barrister-at-Law,
 Dr. Jal Feeroze Bulsara, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D.,
 Dr. Jal C. Pavry, M.A., Ph.D.

Honorary Secretary

B. T. Anklesaria, Esq., M.A.

Finance Sub-Committee

M. P. Khareghat, Esq., Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi,* Kaikhasru H. Cama, Esq., and B. T. Anklesaria, Esq.

Building Sub-Committee

M. P. Khareghat, Esq., Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi,* R. P. Masani, Esq., Rustam K. R. Cama, Esq., Diwan Bahadur Krishnalal M. Jhaveri, Kaikhasru H. Cama, Esq., and B. T. Anklesaria, Esq.

Research Work Sub-Committee

R. P. Masani, Esq., P. K. Motiwala, Esq., Ervad B. N. Dhabhar, Prof. N. D. Minocherhomji, Dr. Irach J. S. Taraporevala, Dr. Jal F. Bulsara, and B. T. Anklesaria, Esq.

* Now deceased.

Meetings

There were in all four, one special and three ordinary, meetings of the Executive Committee during the year.

Record of Service

At the special meeting of the Executive Committee held on the 12th April, 1933, the following resolutions were passed recording the services of Shams-ul-Ulama Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Sorabji Edalji Warden, Esq., and Gushtasp K. Nariman, Esq.:-

Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi

"This meeting of the Executive Committee of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute expresses its deep sense of grief at the passing away of Shams-ul-Ulama Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Kt., C.I.E., B.A., Ph.D., LL.D., on Tuesday, the 28th March, 1933. Dr. Sir Jivanji was one of the founders of this Institute and he worked for its welfare from its inception till the end of his life with very great zeal and energy. The Executive Committee place on record their sense of the irreparable loss sustained by the Institute in his passing away, and their sincere appreciation of the admirable services rendered by him to its cause in various capacities as a Trustee from 1914 to 1933, as its President from December 1919 to May 1921 and as its Honorary Secretary from May 1921 to February 1931, an office with very onerous duties, in which he worked strenuously for the uplift of the Institute for a continuous period of nearly ten years and which he resigned only on account of failing health.

"The Committee highly appreciate his great services as the Editor of the Institute's Journal from 1922 till his passing away, during which period he published 24 numbers of the Journal and sent to the press the twenty-fifth number

which will appear shortly. During his editorship, he brought out nine other publications of the Institute and contributed to the Journal nineteen papers on various subjects.

"Dr. Sir Jivanji was appointed Government fellowship lecturer for the year 1926 when he delivered a series of five lectures on 'The influence of Iran on other countries.' He had also delivered seven lectures at the K. R. Cama anniversary gatherings.

"Dr. Sir Jivanji had by his zeal and perseverance greatly enlarged the scope of the activities of the Institute and enhanced its prestige by his literary pursuits and admirable scholarship and thereby established his claim as the life and soul of the Institute.

"The Institute will cherish and preserve with care the valuable manuscripts, books and relics Dr. Sir Jivanji has presented to the Institute along with his printed works which are to be gathered in a case to preserve his memory.

"The Executive Committee feel proud of having had in their midst such an indefatigable scholar of world-wide reputation, honest principles, straightforward character and unceasing fervour.

"The Committee convey their sympathies to Lady Modi and the sons and daughters of the deceased in their sad bereavement and pray to the Almighty for the eternal bliss and spiritual progress of the soul of their revered colleague.

"A copy of the above resolution be forwarded to the family of the deceased."

Sorabji Edalji Warden, Esq.

"This meeting of the Executive Committee of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute expresses its deep sense of grief at the passing away of Mr. Sorabji E. Warden on Tuesday, the 4th April, 1933. Mr. Warden, a well-known merchant and man of business, who was connected with this

Institute since its inception, took deep interest in its working as one of the Trustees and Vice-presidents.

"The Executive Committee place on record their sense of the loss sustained by the Institute owing to his passing away and their appreciation of the services rendered by him to it.

"A copy of the above resolution be forwarded to the family of the deceased."

Gushtasp K. Nariman, Esq.

"The Executive Committee express their grief at the passing away of Mr. G. K. Nariman, a well-known linguist and scholar, on Tuesday, the 4th April, 1933, and place on record their appreciation of the services the deceased had rendered to the Institute as a member of the Executive Committee, and as one of the Joint Honorary Secretaries from 1919 to 1925.

"A copy of the above resolution be forwarded to the family of the deceased."

K. R. Cama's Death Anniversary

The twenty-fourth anniversary of the death of the late Mr. K. R. Cama was celebrated on Friday, the 18th August, 1933, in the hall of the Institute.

Mr. B. T. Anklesaria, M.A., gave a discourse on "K. R. Cama and his Disciples."

Lectures

1. Mr. Rustam N.D. Banaji: "Jamshed in the Avesta, reflected and revealed in a new light. The Vara of Jamshid identified with the Great Pyramid. Gâthâ and Vandidâd passages expounded with new translation," on Friday, the 7th April, 1933, when Mr. B. T. Anklesaria, M.A., presided.

2. The hundred-and-second birth anniversary of the late Mr. K. R. Cama was celebrated in co-operation with the Râhnumây Mâzdayasnân Sabha, the Gâthâ Society and the Rathaestâr Mandal, on Monday, the 13th November, 1933, when Mr. Dinshah Jijibhai Irani, B.A., LL.B., Solicitor, presided.

Mr. B. T. Anklesaria, M.A., and Ervad Framroze A. Bode, B.A., gave discourses in Gujarati on "Mr. K. R. Cama," and "Mr. K. R. Cama as a Saoshyant," respectively.

3-5. Dr. Jamshed Manekji Unvala, Ph.D., Ancien Elève de l'École de Louvre, Paris, delivered the following three lectures:

"Excavations at Nehâvand," on Friday, the 24th November, 1933, when Mr. B. T. Anklesaria, M.A., presided.

"Recent Excavations at Susa," on Wednesday, the 29th November, 1933, when Mr. B. T. Anklesaria, M.A., presided.

"Impressions of Sassanian seals and other kindred documents of the Sassanian epoch discovered at Susa," on Thursday, the 30th November, 1933, when Mr. B. T. Anklesaria, M.A., presided.

Translations

1. Miss Dhan Behramgore Anklesaria, M.A., has been requested to prepare an English translation of Count A. Gobineau's French work, "Les religions et les philosophies dans l'Asie Centrale," on an honorarium of Rs. 600/-.

2. Dr. Olaf Hansen has been requested to prepare an English translation of Prof. Nöldeke's German work, "Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur zeit der Sassaniden aus der Arabischen Chronik des Tabari," on an honorarium of Rs. 600/-.

3. Dr. A. Siddiqi, Ph.D., has consented to translate into English Prof. Bartholomae's "Zum Sasanidischen Recht, Part V," on an honorarium of Rs. 260/-.

History of the Peshdâdiyan and Kayânian Kings

The late Dr. Sir Jivanji Modi had undertaken to write a "History of the Peshdâdiyan and Kayânian Kings of Persia, based on all sources, especially Avesta, Pahlavi and Persian," but he could not prepare it owing to his prolonged weak health. The matter has been dropped, owing to his death.

Translation of Ervad Sheriarji Bharucha's "Collected Sanskrit Writings, Part I"

The Executive Committee has postponed the question of translation of Ervad Sheriarji Bharucha's "Collected Sanskrit Writings, Part I."

Translation of certain chapters of Dr. Geiger's "Ostiranische Kultur"

The work of translating chapters on Geography and Ethnography in Dr. Geiger's "Ostiranische Kultur" was entrusted to Dr. Irach J. S. Taraporevala in 1923. At the request of the Executive Committee, Dr. Taraporevala, who was handicapped for books of reference, has kindly agreed to complete the work with the help of a German-knowing scholar-friend of his, as early as possible.

Government Research Lectureship

Mr. Sohrab Jamshedji Bulsara, M.A., has been appointed Government Research Fellowship Lecturer of the Institute for 1934, the subject he has selected being "How far do the teachings of the later Avesta interpret Zarathustra's holy message?"

Dr. Sir Jivanji Modi had submitted the MS. of his Government fellowship lectures, delivered in 1926-1927.

just a week before his death. These important lectures will be published early.

Editor of the Institute's Journal

Dr. Sir Jivanji Modi, who was the editor of the Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute ever since it was started in 1922, retired on account of failing health on the 21st January, 1933. Mr. B. T. Anklesaria, M.A., has been appointed editor in his stead.

The Executive Committee records its great appreciation of Dr. Sir Jivanji Modi's indefatigable zeal and application as editor of the Journal. Under his editorship Journal Nos. 1 to 24 were published during his lifetime; Journal No. 25 has been published after his death.

Publications

Two numbers of the Journal of the Institute, Nos. 24 and 25, and the Institute Publication No. 10, were published during the year.

Gabri or Dari Dialect

Mr. W. Ivanow submitted his treatise on "Gabri or Dari Dialect." An honorarium of Rs. 1,500/- has been paid for this work.

Seventh Indian Oriental Conference

Mr. R. P. Masani, M.A., and Dr. Irach J. S. Taraporevala, Ph.D., Bar-at-Law, were appointed delegates to represent the Institute at the Seventh Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, held at Baroda, on the 27th, 28th and 29th December, 1933.

The Executive Committee is glad to learn that Dr. Irach J. S. Taraporevala was appointed President of the Avesta-Iranian Section of the Conference, and that Mr. B. T. Anklesaria read a paper in the Sanskrit-Vedic Section.

Publications

The Executive Committee regrets that owing to scarcity of funds it cannot undertake the publication of (1) the Transliteration and Translation of the Pahlavi Vendidâd, prepared by Mr. Behramgore Tahmuras Anklesaria, M.A., (2) the late Mr. K. R. Cama's Collected Works which are out of print, and (3) "the Life-Sketch of the late Mr. K. R. Cama" written by the late Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi.

The Executive Committee hopes that the Trustees of Charities and philanthropic ladies and gentlemen will kindly come forward to provide funds for these publications. A great desideratum of the student world will be provided for by the publication of the Transliteration and Translation of the Pahlavi Vendidâd and the Executive Committee is anxious to see this work published at an early date.

Anquetil du Perron's Biography

The Executive Committee has sanctioned Rs. 50/- to the Fund raised by the Trustees of the Parsi Panchayet Funds and Properties for the publication of Anquetil du Perron's Biography by M. Raymond Schwab, some articles of Anquetil on the Parsis and two articles of the late Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi.

Co-operation of the Institute sought by the Anthropological Society of Bombay

The Anthropological Society of Bombay has invited the co-operation of members of the Institute, interested in anthropological studies to sift and collect materials lying scattered in the journals of various learned societies with a view to prepare complete monographs on important subjects. The Executive Committee has requested its members to co-operate with the Anthropological Society in its laudable efforts.

Antiquities from Susa

The antiquities from Susa presented to the Parsi

Community by Mon. Macquenem, the head of the French Archaeological Mission at Susa, through Dr. J. M. Unvala, Ph.D., and kept at the Institute, were cleaned for preservation at a cost of Rs. 75/-.

Presentation of MSS. and Books

1. Mrs. Ratanbai C. Badshah has presented 6 MSS. and 59 books from the library of her father the late Shams-ul-Ulama Dastur Dr. Darab P. Sanjana, B.A., Ph.D.

2. Mr. Minoo Hormusji Matbar has presented 200 books from the library of his late father Mr. Hormusji Matbar. Out of these, 100 books have been handed over to the M. F. Cama Athornan Institute.

3. The Trustees of the late Sir Dorab J. Tata have presented 225 books out of Sir Dorab's collection.

4. The late Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Kt., had presented 10 Iranian MSS. and 63 printed oriental books before his death, and Lady Shirinbai has presented 4 MSS. and 536 books and a number of journals after his death.

5. Mobad Dhanjisha Nahladaru of Machhlipeth, Surat, has presented a rich collection of Avesta and Pahlavi MSS.

When the late Mr. K. R. Cama's Library was handed over to the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute in 1917 it contained 1899 MSS. and printed books.

The Institute is by the end of 1933 in charge of MSS. and books presented and purchased as per the following list:—

		MSS.	Books	Journals
K. R. Cama Oriental Institute	...	382	3,795	1,058
M. L. Hataria Collection (1930)...	542	625	...	
Dastur Dr. Darab P. Sanjana (1932)...	6	59	...	
Mr. Hormusji Matbar Collection (1932)...	...	100	...	
Dr. Sir J. J. Modi Collection (1933)...	14	599	217	
Sir Dorab J. Tata Collection (1933)...	...	225	...	
Total ...	944	5,403	1,275	

The list of MSS. and books belonging to the Mullan Firuz Kitabkhana and the various collections attached to it:—

	MSS.	Books	Journals
<i>Dastur Mullan Firuz</i>	... ...	1,482	1,298
Persian MSS.	... 744	...	...
Avesta Pahlavi MSS.	... 93	...	...
Mr. J. N. Tata Collection	... ...	477	...
Mr. Behram Merwan Irani Collection	... ...	140	...
" Cowasji B. Patel Collection	... ...	86	...
Khan Bahadur Bahmanji B. Patel Collection	... ...	467	...
Dr. Burzaji Behramji Pestonji Collection	... ...	247	...
Ervad Sheriarji D. Bharucha Collection	... ...	343	...
Sir J. J. Translation Fund	... ...	461	...
Newspaper files and packets	... ...	272	...
Mr. Sorabji Framji Vakil's Collection.*	55	3	...
'Ardeshar Dosabhai Munshi Collection	... ...	33	...

Mr. K. R. Cama's Paper-Arrow

Dr. Sir Jivanji Modi, along with his letter dated the 16th March, 1933, has sent as an interesting memento a paper-arrow, which was darted at him by the late Mr. K. R. Cama with his name written on it, on the Shehenshahi New Year day, 1278 A.Y. (13th September, 1908 A.C.) through the silver-bow which Dr. Sir Jivanji had presented to him on the previous Navroz.

Sir Jivanji Modi's Medals and Robes

Lady Shirinbai Jivanji Modi has sent over to the Institute eleven medals and three academical robes of the late Dr. Sir Jivanji to be kept along with Dr. Sir Jivanji's publications in the cabinet proposed to be placed in his honour in the Institute.

* Presented by Mr. Manchershah Sohrabji Vakharia, Trustee of the Sheth Hormasji Behramji Vakharia Dar-e Meher.

Institute Building

At the instance of Miss Serenebai Maneckji Cursetji, the Executive Committee has again taken up the question of erecting a building for the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute and to accept donations for the same. Mr. Rustam K. R. Cama, Mr. Rustam P. Masani and Mr. B. T. Anklesaria, Honorary Secretary, have been requested to find out a suitable building site and to frame a scheme for the provision of such a building.

Insurance

The manuscripts, books, furniture and dead-stock of the Cama Oriental Institute and of the Manekji Limji Hataria Library have been insured for Rs. 50,000.

The manuscripts, books and furniture of the Mullan Firuz Kitabkhana are separately insured for Rs. 20,000 by the Committee of the Kitabkhana.

General Fund

The General Fund of the Institute showed a balance of Rs. 2,00,726-6-5 on the 31st December, 1932. At the end of 1933 the balance was Rs. 2,01,164-13-3.

The Executive Committee desires to record its thanks to Messrs. Navroz A. Davar & Co., Incorporated Accountants, for having worked as Honorary Auditors of the Institute for the last ten years.

BOOKS PURCHASED*English*

"Comparative Tables of Muhammadan and Christian Dates," by Lt. Col. Sir Wolseley Haig, London, 1932.

"Maulana Shibli and Umar Khayyam" by Rustom, Pestonji Bhajiwalla, Surat, 1932.

"Mystic Tendencies in Islam," by M. M. Zuhuruddin Ahmad, Bombay, 1933.

"Oahaspe. A Kosmon Bible in the Words of Jehovah and his Angel Embassadors," by the Kosmon Press, London, 1926.

"Caravan Journeys and Wanderings in Persia, Afghanistan, Turkistan and Beloochistan", by J. P. Ferrier, London, 1896.

"Cyrus the Second," by J. W. Bosanquet, London, 1872.

"Catalogue of the Collection of Oriental Coins belonging to Col. C. Seton Guthrie: Fasciculus I: Coins of the Amawi Khalifehs," by Stanley Lane Poole, Hertford, 1874.

"A Trilingual Inscription of Artaxerxes Mnemon," by B. T. A. Evetts.

"On Two Duplicates of the Babylonian Chronicle," by C. Bezold, London, 1889.

"Remarks on the Zend Language and the Zend Avesta," by Emanuel Rask, London, 1834.

"Travels in Beloochistan and Sinde; accompanied by a Geographical and Historical Account of those Countries with a map," by Lt. Henry Pottinger, London, 1816.

"Travels and Adventures in the Persian Provinces on the Southern Banks of the Caspian Sea," by James B. Fraser, London, 1826.

"Bombay and the Sidis," by D. R. Banaji, Bombay, 1932.

"Higher Persian Grammar," by Lt. Col. D. C. Phillott, Calcutta, 1919.

"The Pushto Manual," by Major H. G. Raverty, London, 1917.

German

"Die Soghdischen Handschriftenreste des Britischen Museums I Teil (Die Buddhistischen Texte) II Teil (Die

Nicht Buddhistischen Texte)" by Hans Reichelt, Heidelberg, 1928 and 1931.

"Iranische Denkmaler Lieferung 1, 2 and 3/4 A Tafeln I-XVIII, XIX-XXX and B Tafeln I-XXVII und 1 Tabelle" by Ernst Herzfeld, Berlin, 1932 and 1933.

"Die Grabschrift des Darius zu Nakschi Rustam," by Dr. Ferdinand Hitzig, Zurich, 1847.

"Die Babylonisch-assyrischen Keilinschriften und ihre Bedeutung fur das Alte Testament," by Dr. C. Bezold, Tubingen und Leipzig, 1904.

"Korosi Csoma-Archivum A Korosi Csoma-Tarsasag Folyoirata," by Nemeth Gyula, Budapest.

"Klio Beitrage zur alten Geschichte In Verbindung mit Fachgenossen des In—und Auslandes," by C. F. Lehmann-Haupt and E. Kornemann, Leipzig, 1908.

"Das Rufen des Zarathushtra (Die Gathas der Awesta)," by Paul Eberhardt: Jena 1913.

"Historische Keilschrifttexte aus Assur," by Carl Bezold: Heidelberg, 1915.

"Die Religionsgeschichtliche Bedeutung des Yasna Haptanhati," by O. G. von Wesendenk, Bonn und Koln, 1931.

"Yašt 14, 16, 17 Text Übersetzung Mithra und Ereksa," Johannes Hertel, Leipzig, 1931.

"Neutestamentliche Bruchstucke in Soghdischer Sprache," Muller.

French

"Mahā Karmavibhangā et Karmavibhangopadesa," by Sylvain Levy, Paris, 1932.

"Maçoudi: Le Livre de L'Avertissement et de la Revision," Translation by B. Carra de Vaux, Paris, 1897.

"Le Livre de L'Indication et de L'Admonition," by A. I. Silvestre de Saci.

"Collection des Historiens Anciens et Modernes de L'Arménie, Tome Premier et Deuxieme", by Victor Langlois, Paris (Tome Premier 1881, Tome Deuxieme 1869).

"Voyage en Arménie et en Perse, fait dans les années 1805 et 1806," by P. Amedee Jaubert, Paris, 1821.

"Épisodes de L'Histoire du Kurdistan," by Mon. Addai Scher.

"Le Peuple et L'Empire des Mèdes jusqu'a la fin du Règne de Cyaxare," by A. Delattre, S. J., Bruxelles, 1883.

"Memoire sur Les Guerres Mediques," by Paul Devaux.

"Inscriptions Pehlvies de Kirmanschah," by Louis Dub eux, Paris, 1843.

"L'Alphabet de la Langue Bactrienne, Actes de la Société Philologique," by E. J. Dillon, Paris, 1879.

"Memoire sur Deux Bas-Reliefs Mithriaques qui ont ete Decouverts en Transylvanie," by Felix Lajard.

Sanskrit

"Rgveda-Samhitā with the Commentary of Sāyanāchārya," Vol. I, Mandal I. (Vedic Research Institute Publication). Edited by V. K. Rajwade, M. M. Abhyankar, N. S. Sontakke and Pandit T. S. Varadarajasarma, Poona, 1933.

Arabic - French

Maçoudi: "Les Prairies d'Or." Text and Translation, Vols. I-IX, by C. Barbier de Meynard et Pavet de Courteille, Paris 1861 - 1877.

English - Persian

"New English-Persian Dictionary," Vols. I and II, by S. Haim, Tehran, 1930.

Pahlavi

"Codices Avestici et Pahlavici, Vol. II. The Pahlavi Codex K₂₆ containing Ardhāgh Virāj Nāmagh and

Mādhīghāne Yavishṭ e Fryān," with an Introduction by Arthur Christensen, by the University Library of Copenhagen, Copenhagen, 1932.

Ethiopian

"Baralam and Yewasef, Vol. I (Ethiopic Text), Vol. II (English Translation)," by Sir E. A. Wallis Budge, London, 1923.

Latin

"De Verbis Denominativis Linguae Bactricae," by Eugenius Wilhelm, Isenaci.

"De Infinitivi Lingvarvm Sanscritae Bactricae Persicae, Graecae, Oscae, Vmbriae, Latinae, Goticae," by Eugenius Wilhelm, Isenaci, 1873.

Dutch

"Over Het Woord Zarathustra en den Mythischen Persoon Van Dien Naam," by J. H. C. Kern, Amsterdam, 1867.

Italian

"Il Capitolo Georgico Dell'Avesta. Vendidad, III," by F. A. Cannizzaro, Messina, 1913.

Pukkhto

"A Dictionary of the Pukkhto or Pukshto Language," by H. W. Bellews, London, 1867.

Gujarati

"અમર ધ્રાન યાને પુરાતન પાસીં તવારિખના થોડા ઝણકતા સફ્રાયેન્દ્રા," અનાવનાર મિલોચેહેર એરચશાહ દાદરાવાળા, ગુંબધ, ૧૯૩૩.

BOOKS PRESENTED

"Report on the Working of the Imperial Library, Calcutta," for the year 1931-32; Calcutta, 1932.¹

1. By the Publisher.

"Psychology of the Religious Life, as illustrated by Zoroastrian Writings," by Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Poona, 1932.²

"Proceedings of the Nineteenth Indian Science Congress, Bangalore, 1932," by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1932.¹

"A Report to the Sir Ratan Tata Trustees on Problems affecting the Parsee Community," by S. F. Markham, Bombay, 1933.³

"Iranian Studies" (Reprint from the Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, Vol. VI, Part IV, 1932), by H. W. Bailey.⁴

"Origin of Indo-Iranian Myth and Religion," by Viccaji Dinshaw, Secunderabad, 1932.⁴

"Oriental Conference Papers," by Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Bombay, 1932.⁵

"The Parsee Heritage," by Maneck B. Pithawalla, Karachi, 1932.⁵

"Vijarishn i Chatrang, or the Explanation of Chatrang and other Texts," by J. C. Tarapore, Bombay, 1932.⁵

"Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology for the year 1931," by the Kern Institute, Leyden, Leyden,⁶ 1933.

"Zoroastrian Civilization from the Earliest Times to the Downfall of the last Zoroastrian Empire 651 A.D.," by Maneckji Nusservanji Dhalla, New York, 1922.⁷

"Zoroastrian Theology from the Earliest Times to the

2. By the Author.

3. By the Trustees of the Sir Ratan Tata Charities.

4. By the late Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi.

5. By the Trustees of the Parsi Panchayet Funds and Properties.

6. Presented by the Kern Institute, Leyden.

7. Presented by the Trustees of Sir Dorab J. Tata,

Present Day," by Maneckji Nusservanji Dhalla, New York, 1914.⁷

"The Zoroastrian Doctrine of a Future Life from Death to the Individual Judgement," by Jal Dastur Cursetji Pavry, New York, 1926.⁷

"Iranian Studies," by Cursetji Erachji Pavri, Bombay, 1927.⁷

"Government Oriental Series," Class B, No. 1: "Collected Works of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, Vol. I," by N. B. Ütgikar and V. G. Paranjpe. Poona, 1933.⁸

"Catalogue of Books of the Bombay University Library." Lists of Additions Nos. 1-15. Bombay. 1920-1932.⁹

Persian

"Farhange Nizām, Vols. I and II," by Prof. Aga Syed Mahomed Ali, Dai, Hyderabad, 1348, 1351.²

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French

"La Stele de Chaulouf, Essai De Restitution du Texte Perse," by M. Joachim Menant, Paris, 1887.⁴

Sanskrit

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8. Presented by the Director of Public Instruction, Poona.

9. Presented by the Bombay University Library.

10. Presented by the Department of Public Instruction, Bombay.

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Gujarati

“પારસી પ્રકાશ,” દિક્તર ૪ થું-ભાગ ૪ થો, રચનાર ૩. બી. પેમાસ્તર, મુખ્યધ, ૧૯૩૨.^૫

“ભગર સાથ અનજુમનની તવારીખ,” કર્તા એ૦ કરૈદુન ૨૦ કાંગા, મુખ્યધ, ૧૯૩૨.^૫

“ઓરાસ્ટીયન ક્લેંડર યાને પારસી પંચાગ,” બ. જ. ૧૨૫૨; ૧૨૫૫-૫૮; ૧૨૬૧-૭૨; ૧૨૭૪, ૧૨૭૫, ૧૨૭૭-૮૧, ૧૨૮૩-૮૫; ૧૨૮૭: નંંગ ૩૮: કર્તા-મનચેરળ હેણંગજ નાગોશ.^૫

“દાદ્શતાને દીનાનો તજુંમો યાને દસ્તુર માતુસ્થેહરે ગોશનજમે આપેલાં ધાર્મિક ક્રમાનોની” કર્તા એરવદ તેહમુરસ દીનશાહ અંક્લેસરીઆ તથા એરવદ શેહરીયારળ દાદાબાધ ભાડીયા, મુખ્યધ, ૧૯૨૬.^૬

“યશ્તે વદરહેગાન્દ, યુજર પામેલાંએની આરાધના,” કર્તા જલ દસ્તુર ઝુરશેદજ પાવરી, મુખ્યધ, ૧૯૨૭.^૭

“મહાત્મા મહિમા (નણુ અંકી નાટક),” કર્તા મેહેરજીભાઈ માણેકજી રહુરા, અમદાવાદ, ૧૯૨૫.^૭

“શુલકારે પારસ,” કર્તા જેહાંગીર અરજોરળ સંભણૂ, બી. એ. મુખ્યધ, ૧૯૨૭.^૭

“મહાન જીરથેસ્તી ધર્મ, ભાગ બીજો,” કર્તા જેહાંગીર અરજોરળ સંભણૂ, અમદાવાદ, ૧૯૨૮.^૮

“પહુલી ધરાનમાં મુસાફરી,” લખનાર મેહેરખાતુ ઐહરામગોર અંક્લેસરીઆ : સુખ્યધ, ૧૯૩૨.^૯

“હખામન્યન શેહેનશાહીતાનો રથાપનાર સાયેરસ ધી ગ્રેટ,” કર્તા ખાનસાહેય ધનજીભાઈ કુરામજી દુલ્યાશ, સુખ્યધ, ૧૯૩૩.^{૧૦}

11. Presented by the Adyar Library.

12. Presented by Mr. Rustom Jamshed Irani.

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English

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"The Asiatic Review," Vol. XXIX Nos. 97-98-99-100 (January, April, July, October) 1933.¹³

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13. Presented by the Publishers.

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"Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni:" Anno VIII, Fascicolo 3, 4 (1932); Anno IX, Fasc. 1-2 (1933).¹³

Sanskrit, Marathi, etc.

"Bharata Itihasa Sanshodhaka Mandala," Vol. XIII, No. 3 (December 1932); Vol. XIII, No. 4 (March 1933).¹³

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"રહે જરથુણ" વોલ્યુમ ૧૫, નંબર ૧, ૨, ૩ (માર્ચ, જુન, સપ્ટેમ્બર, ૧૯૩૩).¹³

THE K. R. CAMA

Balance Sheet as on

LIABILITIES	Rs.	a.	p.
General Fund	2,01,164	13	3
Fellowship Fund	32,567	8	0
Dr. E. J. Khory Fund	14,529	8	0
Sarosh K. R. Cama Fund	6,116	15	8
Bai Aimae K. R. Cama Fund	4,310	0	6
Surat Parsi History Fund	3,657	6	0
K. R. Cama Anniversary Fund	1,802	3	9
T. R. N. Cama Donation Fund	7,299	2	8
Bivayet Publication Fund	213	0	9
Pahlavi Vendidad Translation Fund	1,142	3	4
Maneckji Limji Hateria Library Fund ...	4,311	2	0
Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi Appreciation Fund	971	3	0
Total	2,78,085	2	6

KAIKHASRU HORMUSJEE CAMA,
Honorary Treasurer.

ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

31st December 1933

ASSETS	Rs.	a.	p.
Cash with Imperial Bank of India (Rs. 3,553-7-6):—			
Bai Aimae K. R. Cama Fund Account ...	59	4	6
Sarosh K. R. Cama Fund Account ...	93	1	8
All other Accounts ...	3,401	1	4
Securities—(With Imperial Bank of India as per Safe Custody Receipt, Rs. 2,72,566-3-0):—			
3½ per cent Government Promissory Notes of Rs. 78,700 ...	62,829	11	0
5 per cent 1945-55 Government Promissory Notes of Face Value Rs. 500 ...	500	0	0
6½ per cent 1935 Treasury Bonds of Face Value Rs. 51,500 ...	51,535	4	0
4 per cent 1960-70 Loans of Face Value Rs. 39,200 ...	39,112	8	0
4 per cent Improvement Trust Bonds of Face Value Rs. 500 ...	500	0	0
4 per cent Bombay Port Trust Bonds of Face Value Rs. 1,17,800 ...	1,18,088	12	0
Furniture and Fixtures ...	1,965	8	0
Total ...	2,78,085	2	6

Examined and found correct.

NAVROZ A. DAVAR & Co.,
Incorporated Accountants (London),
Honorary Auditors.

Bombay, 10th April 1934.

THE K. R. CAMA
Account

Account of the General Fund for the

CREDIT	Rs.	a.	p.
BALANCE ON 1ST JANUARY 1933 (Rs. 2,00,726-6-5) :—			
Cash with Bank ...	2,180	2	5
Securities ...	1,96,477	4	0
FURNITURE AND FIXTURES ...	2,069	0	0
ADMINISTRATION CHARGES (Rs. 818-14-0) :—			
The Mulla Firoz Kitabkhana	660	0	0
The Bai Aima K. R. Cama Fund	13	13	0
The Sarosh K. R. Cama Fund	23	0	0
The K. R. Cama Anniversary Fund	6	13	0
The Fellowship Fund ...	115	4	0
OTHER CREDITS (Rs. 12,934-3-0) :—			
Annual Membership Subscriptions	660	0	0
Sale of Journals and Publications	87	3	0
Fees for the use of the Institute Hall	97	0	0
Income transferred from Dr. E. J. Khory Account	936	0	0
Interest on Investments ...	8,767	0	0
4 per cent 1960-70 Loan of Face Value Rs. 2,200 received on conversion of 6 per cent 1933-36 Bonds of Face Value Rs. 2,200	2,200	0	0
Bonus realized on conversion of 6 per cent 1933-36 Bonds of Face Value Rs. 2,200 into 4 per cent 1960-70 Loan at 8½ per cent	187	0	0
Total Rs.	2,14,479	7	5

KAIKHASRU HORMUSJEE CAMA,
Honorary Treasurer.

ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

No. I

year ended 31st December 1933

	DEBIT	Rs.	a.	p.
CASH DEBITS (Rs. 11,011-2-2):—				
Salaries and Wages	...	4,440	0	0
Rent	...	3,300	0	0
General Charges	...	413	6	0
Books and Periodicals	...	573	10	10
Stationery and Printing	...	165	11	0
Postage and Stamps	...	98	2	6
Insurance	...	56	4	0
Publication Charges	...	1,963	15	10
OTHER DEBITS (Rs. 2,303-8-0):—				
6 per cent 1933-36 Bonds of Face Value Rs. 2,200 converted into 4 per cent 1960-70 Loan of Face Value Rs. 2,200	...	2,200	0	0
Depreciation of Furniture and Fixtures	...	103	8	0
BALANCE ON 31ST DECEMBER 1933 (Rs. 2,01,164-13-3):—				
3½ per cent Government Promissory Notes of Face Value	Rs. 64,900	50,669	12	0
5 per cent 1945-55 Government Promissory Notes of Face Value	500	500	0	0
6½ per cent 1935 Treasury Bonds of Face Value	26,800	26,818	12	0
4 per cent 1960-70 Loans of Face Value	2,200	2,200	0	0
4 per cent Bombay Port Trust Bonds of Face Value	1,15,500	1,15,788	12	0
4 per cent Improvement Trust Bonds of Face Value	500	500	0	0
Cash with Bank	...	2,722	1	3
FURNITURE AND FIXTURES	...	1,965	8	0
Total Rs.		2,14,479	7	5

Examined and found correct.

NAVROZ A. DAVAR & Co.,
 Incorporated Accountants (London),
 Honorary Auditors.

Bombay, 10th April 1934.

Account
FELLOWSHIP

Dr.

	Rs. a. p.
Printing Charges of Journal ...	381 0 0
Mr. W. Ivanow for Treatise on Dari ...	600 0 0
Dr. Sir Jivanji Modi for Fellowship Lectures in 1926	1,200 0 0
6 per cent 1933-36 Bonds of Face value Rs. 30,000 paid off	30,000 0 0
Administration Charges	115 4 0
Purchase of 4 per cent 1960-70 Loan of Face Value Rs. 2,600 at Rs. 98-12 per cent with interest upto date of purchase ...	2,598 7 10
Balance on 31-12-33:—	
4 p.c. 1960-70 Loan of F. V. Rs. 32,600...	32,567 8 0
	<hr/>
	67,462 3 10

Account
DR. E. J. KHORY

Dr.

	Rs. a. p.
Interest amount transferred to General Fund	936 0 0
Balance on 31st Dec. 33:—	
6½ p.c. 1935 Treasury Bonds of Face Value Rs. 14,400 ... 14,400 0 0	
Cash 129 8 0	14,529 8 0
	<hr/>
	15,465 8 0

Account
SAROSH K. R. CAMA

Dr.

	Rs. a. p.
Stamp on Balance Certificate... ...	0 1 0
Transfer Fees on Securities	7 0 0
Administration charges	23 0 0
Purchase of 4 per cent 1960-70 Loan of Face Value Rs. 500 at Rs. 98-12 per cent with interest upto date of purchase	
Balance on 31st Dec. 1933:—	499 14 0
4 p.c. B. P. T. Bonds of F. V. Rs. 1,000 ... 1,000 0 0	
3½ p.c. G. P. Notes of F. V. Rs. 200 ... 127 8 0	
6½ p.c. 1935 Treasury Bonds of F. V. Rs. 4,400 ... 4,402 10 0	
4 p.c. 1960-70 Loan of F. V. Rs. 500 ... 493 12 0	
Cash 93 1 8	6,116 15 8
	<hr/>
	6,646 14 8

No. 2
FUND

Cr.

		Rs. a. p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1933:—		
6 p.c. 1933-36 Bonds of Face Value		
Rs. 30,000 		30,000 0 0
Interest 		1,646 8 0
4 p.c. 1960-70 Loan of Face Value		
Rs. 30,000 received on conversion of		
6 p.c. 1933-36 Bonds of Face Value		
Rs. 30,000 		30,000 0 0
Cash Bonus received on conversion of 6 p.c.		
1933-36 Bonds of Face Value Rs. 30,000		
at 8½ p.c. 		2,550 0 0
4 p.c. 1960-70 Loan of Face Value Rs. 2,600		
purchased at Rs. 98-12-0 		2,567 8 0
Contributed from the General Fund under		
heading Publication Charges as the		
same had been previously paid from		
this account 		698 3 10
		<hr/> 67,462 3 10

No. 3
FUND

Cr.

		Rs. a. p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1933:—		
6½ per cent 1935 Treasury		
Bonds of Face Value		
Rs. 14,400 14,400 0 0		
Cash 129 8 0		14,529 8 0
Interest 		936 0 0
		<hr/> 15,465 8 0

No. 4
FUND

Cr.

		Rs. a. p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1933:—		
4 per cent B. P. T. Bonds		
(F. V. Rs. 1,000) ... 1,000 0 0		
3½ per cent G. P. Notes		
(F. V. Rs. 200) ... 127 8 0		
6½ per cent 1935 Treasury		
Bonds of F.V. Rs. 4,400... 4,402 10 0		
Cash 294 4 8		5,824 6 8
Interest 		328 12 0
4 p.c. 1960-70 Loan of Face Value Rs. 500		
purchased at Rs. 98-12 p.c. ...		493 12 0
		<hr/> 6,646 14 8

Dr.

Account

BAI AIMAE K. R. CAMA

		Rs. a. p.
Stamp and Transfer Fees on Securities ...		5 1 0
Honorarium for translating the Pahlavi Text Sītāyīntārīh-i-Sūr Āfrīn ...		100 8 0
Administration charges ...		13 13 0
Purchase of 4 per cent 1960-70 Loan of Face Value Rs. 500 at Rs. 98-12 per cent including interest upto date of purchase ...		499 13 1
Balance on 31-12-33:—		
4 p.c. B.P.T. Bonds of F. V. Rs. 1,300 ... 1,300 0 0		
6½ p. c. 1935 Treasury Bonds of F. V. Rs. 1,800 ... 1,804 2 0		
3½ p.c. G. P. Notes of F. V. Rs. 900 ... 652 14 0		
4 p. c. 1960-70 Loan of F. V. Rs. 500 ... 493 12 0		
Cash 59 4 6		4,310 0 6
		4,929 3 7

Account

SURAT PARSI HISTORY

Dr.

		Rs. a. p.
Purchase of 4 p.c. 1960-70 Loan of Face Value Rs. 300 at 98-12 p.c. including interest upto date of purchase ...		299 13 6
Balance on 31st Dec. 1933:—		
3½ p.c. G. P. Notes of F. V. Rs. 3,700 ... 2,379 9 0		
6½ p. c. 1935 Treasury Bonds of F. V. Rs. 900 ... 903 6 0		
4 p. c. 1960-70 Loan of F. V. Rs 300 ... 296 4 0		
Cash 78 3 0		3,657 6 *0
		3,957 3 6

No. 5

FUND

Cr.

		Rs. a. p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1933:—		
4 p.c. B.P.T. Bonds of F. V. Rs. 1,800	.. 1,300 0 0	
6½ p.c. 1935 Treasury Bonds of F.V. Rs. 1,800 ..	.. 1,804 2 0	
3½ p.c. G.P. Notes of Face Value Rs. 900 ..	652 14 0	
Cash ..	481 3 7	
		<u>4,238 3 7</u>
Interest ..	197 4 0	
4 p. c. 1960-70 Loan of Face Value Rs. 500 purchased at 98-12 p. c. ..	493 12 0	
		<u>4,929 3 7</u>

No. 6

FUND

Cr.

		Rs. a. p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1933:—		
3½ p. c. G. P. Notes of F.V. Rs. 3,700 ..	2,379 9 0	
6½ p.c. 1935 Treasury Bonds of F.V. Rs. 900 ..	903 6 0	
Cash ..	190 8 6	
		<u>3,473 7 6</u>
Interest ..	187 8 0	
4 p.c. 1960-70 Loan of Face Value Rs. 300 purchased at 98-12 p. c. ..	296 4 0	
		<u>3,957 3 6</u>

Account
K. R. CAMA ANNIVERSARY
Dr.

		Rs. a. p.
Anniversary Celebration Expenses	...	44 3 3
Administration Charges	...	6 13 0
Purchase of 4 p.c. 1960-70 Loan of Face		
Value Rs. 300 at Rs. 98-12 p.c. including		
interest upto date of purchase	...	299 13 6
Balance on 31-12-33:-		
6½ p.c. 1935 Treasury		
Bonds of F.V. Rs. 1,500	1,500 0 0	
4 p. c. 1960-70 Loan of		
F. V. Rs. 300	296 4 0	
Cash	... ... 5 15 9	
		1,802 3 9
		2,153 1 6

Account
T. R. N. CAMA
Dr.

		Rs. a. p.
Purchase of 4 p.c. 1960-70 Loan of Face		
Value Rs. 600 at Rs. 98-12 p.c. including		
interest upto date of purchase	...	599 10 9
Balance on 31st Dec. 1933:-		
3½ p.c.G.P. Notes of F.V.		
Rs. 5,000	... 5,000 0 0	
6½ p.c. 1935 Treasury		
Bonds of F.V. Rs. 1,700 ..	1,706 6 0	
4 p.c. 1960-70 Loan of F.V.		
Rs. 600	... ... 592 8 0	
Cash	... ... 0 4 3	
		7,299 2 3
		7,898 13 0

Account
RIVAYET PUBLICATION
Dr.

		Rs. a. p.
Purchase of 4 p.c. 1960-70 Loan of Face		
Value Rs. 200 at Rs. 98-12 p.c. including		
interest upto date of purchase	...	199 14 3
Balance on 31st Dec. 1933:-		
4 p.c. 1960-70 Loan of F.V.		
Rs. 200	... ... 197 8 0	
Cash	... ... 15 8 9	
		213 0 9
		412 15 0

No. 7
FUND

Cr.

		Rs. a. p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1933:—		
6½ p.c. 1935 Treasury Bonds of F.V. Rs. 1,500	... 1,500	0 0
Cash	... 259	5 6
		<u>1,759 5 6</u>
Interest		97 8 0
4 p.c. 1960-70 Loan of Face Value Rs. 300 purchased at 98-12 p.c.	...	296 4 0
		<u>2,153 1 6</u>

No. 8
FUND

Cr.

		Rs. a. p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1933:—		
3½ p.c. G.P. Notes of F.V. Rs. 5,000	... 5,000	0 0
6½ p.c. 1935 Treasury Bonds of F.V. Rs. 1,700	1,706	6 0
Cash	... 314	15 0
		<u>7,021 5 0</u>
Interest		285 0 0
4 p.c. 1960-70 Loan of Face Value Rs. 600 purchased at 98-12 p.c.	... 592	8 0
		<u>7,898 13 0</u>

No. 9
FUND

Cr.

		Rs. a. p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1933:—		
Cash	... ...	184 15 0
Sale of copies of Rivayet	... ...	30 8 0
4 p.c. 1960-70 Loan of Face Value Rs. 200 purchased at 98-12 p.c.	... ...	197 8 0
		<u>412 15 0</u>

Account**PAHLAVI VENDIDAD PRIZE***Dr.*

		Rs. a. p.
Purchase of 4 p.c. 1960-70 Loan of Face Value Rs. 1,100 at Rs. 98-12 p.c. including interest upto date of purchase ...		1,099 5 0
Balance on 31st Dec. 1933:—		
4 p.c. 1960-70 Loan of F.V.		
Rs. 1,100 1,086 4 0		
Cash 55 15 4		1,142 3 4
		<u>2,341 8 4</u>

Account**MANECKJI LIMJI HATERIA***Dr.*

		Rs. a. p.
Fire Insurance Premium ...	...	37 8 0
Purchase of Books and Periodicals ...	...	37 14 0
Balance on 31st Dec. 1933:—		
3½ p.c. G.P. Notes of F.V.		
Rs. 4,000 4,000 0 0		
Cash 311 3 0		4,311 2 0
		<u>4,336 8 0</u>

Account**DR. SIR J. J. MODI***Dr.*

		Rs. a. p.
Purchase of 4 p.c. 1960-70 Loan of Face Value Rs. 900 including interest upto date of purchase ...		899 7 0
Balance on 31st Dec. 1933 :—	...	
4 p.c. 1960-70 Loan of F. V.		
Rs. 900 888 12 0		
Cash 82 7 0		971 3 0
		<u>1,870 10 0</u>

No. 10

TRANSLATION FUND

Cr.

	Rs. a. p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1933 :—	
Cash	1,155 4 4
4 p.c. 1960-70 Loan of Face Value Rs. 1,100 ...	1,086 4 0
purchased at Rs. 98-12 p.c. ...	
	2,241 8 4

No. 11

LIBRARY FUND

Cr.

	Rs. a. p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1933 :—	
3½ p.c. G.P. Notes of F. V.	
Rs. 4,000 4,000 0 0	
Cash 246 14 0	
Interest	
	4,246 14 0
	139 10 0
	4,386 8 0

No. 12

APPRECIATION FUND

Cr.

	Rs. a. p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1933 :—	
Cash	981 14 0
4 p.c. 1960-70 Loan of Face Value Rs. 900 ...	888 12 0
purchased at Rs. 98-12 p.c. ...	
	1,870 10 0



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CONTAINING THE GOVERNMENT RESEARCH FELLOWSHIP
LECTURES DELIVERED BY PROFESSOR POUR-E
DAVOUD IN 1934

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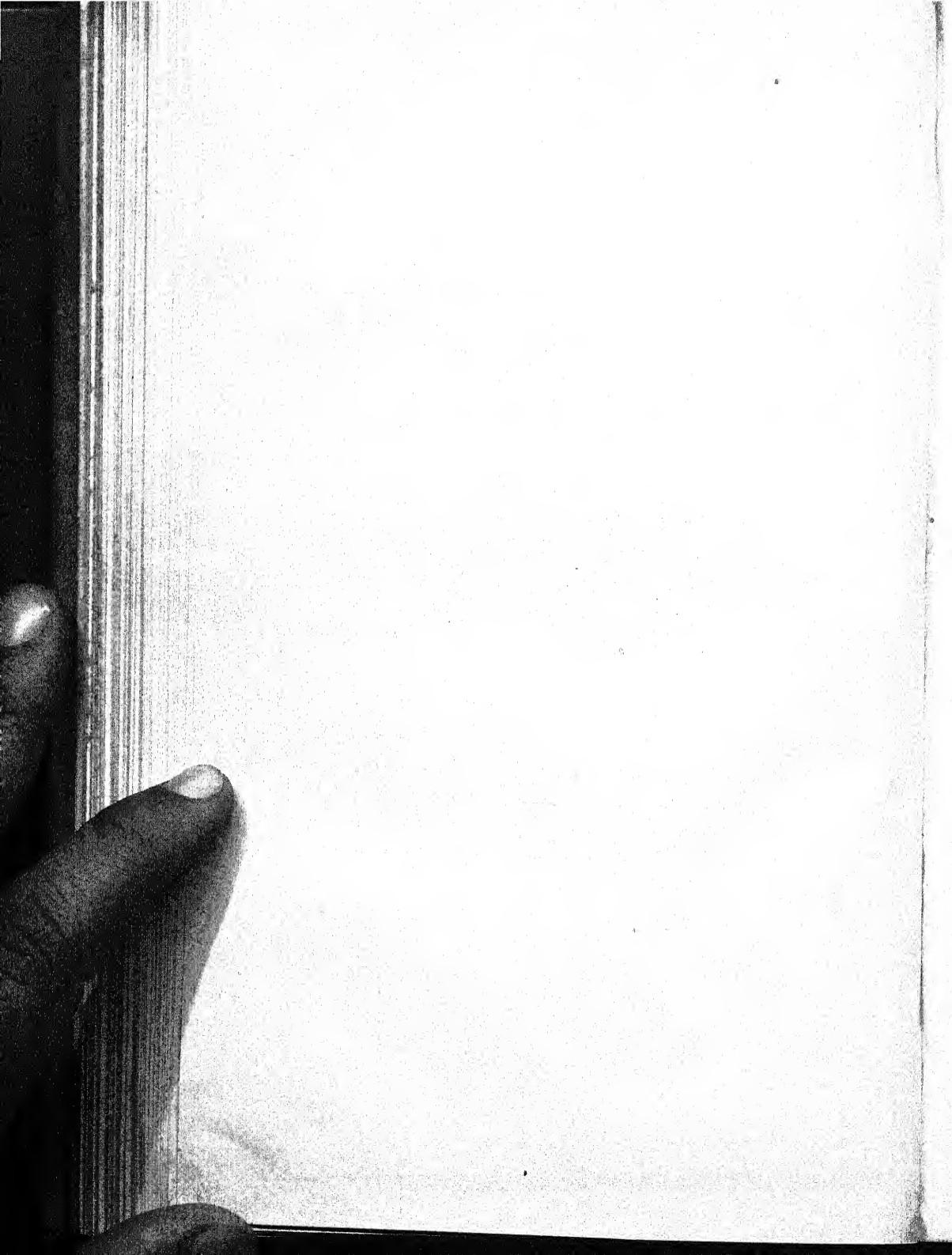
FOREWORD

Taking the advantage of Aga Pour-e Davoud's presence in India at the Santiniketan where he stayed for a year, being appointed Professor of Iranian Art and Culture by the Government of Irân, the President, Trustees and Governing Body of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute appointed him the Government Research Fellow for the year 1935. As Professor Pour-e Davoud had to leave India in April, 1934, he delivered the following six lectures before his departure:

1. "Airyana Vaêja [Irân Vêj]", on 2-3-1934,
2. "Turan", on 7-3-1934,
3. "The Age of Zarath ustra", on 9-3-1934,
4. "Raghâ", on 14-3-1934,
5. "References to Buddhism in Iranian Literature and History", on 16-3-1934,
6. "A Brief Review of Persian History", on 20-3-1934.

It is to be regretted that the publication of these lectures had to be put off. Those who are anxious to learn the views of a modern Iranian on matters Iranian will appreciate Professor Pour-e Davoud's outspoken criticisms.

B. T. ANKLESARIA,
Editor



LECTURES OF PROFESSOR POUR-E DAVOUD

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

I consider it a great pleasure and honour to have the privilege of standing before you to-day as the Government of India lecturer. I heartily thank the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute for my appointment to this lectureship. I am really very glad that I have got this unique opportunity to stand on this famous platform before leaving India after the completion of my mission as a cultural deputy from the Imperial Government of Persia to this great country of India.

I know many great and famous scholars have held this lectureship before me and they have given the benefit of their researches and learning to the general public. In a series of six lectures I mean to discuss several subjects on which considerable difference of opinion exists amongst learned scholars. The subjects I have selected refer mainly to old Iranian history and culture. We all know that with the advancement of learning and new researches through archaeological finds, it is essential for us to adjust our views with those of the present day, and in my lectures I have taken into account all the various view-points and have tried to discuss them scientifically.

My first lecture is about the location of Airyana Vaeja. As you all know, since Zoroastrianism began to be studied scientifically, the question as to the location of Airyana Vaeja has been discussed by various savants. As the name occurs in the Avesta, I will endeavour to ascertain

in the course of this lecture, whether it was the first settlement of the Iranians after their separation from the old Aryan stock.

In my second lecture I will speak of the Turanians, which too is a very interesting subject. I will try to prove that the Turanians rose from the original Aryan race, but they were Aryans of a lower and inferior civilisation. From very old times the Turanians are mistaken to have been descended from some foreign race, but after examining the various points of history and historical records, I have come to the conclusion that the Turanians mentioned in the old Avestan Scriptures were originally Aryans. The Ottoman Turks of to-day taking their stand on this old mistake of considering Turanians as foreign, take pride in their descent from the Turanians.

My third lecture will treat of the age of Zarathustra. It is one of the problems often discussed widely by the scholars of Zoroastrianism. The question is to be judged not only from a religious view-point as it is connected with great historical and cultural aspects. As we know, the Gâthâs, Zarathustra's own writings, are the oldest existing documents of Iranian culture. We shall be able to indicate the beginning of our Iranian culture, when we will have fixed the age of Zarathustra, the singer of these holy songs. When the age of Zarathustra and the Gâthâs will be fixed, we shall have to look to some centuries back for the beginning and the course of development of this culture, because we see in the Gâthâs that the culture and civilisation of Irân had already reached a high degree and the people, addressed therein, were not at all rough and low; they were cultural to a high degree and had already reached a humanitarian and social plane of morality and ethics of a very high order.

Except the philological evidence as regards the holy Avestan Scriptures, which shows their antiquity, we

have no other document left, after the invasion and ruin by Alexander in the fourth century before Christ, the Arab invasion in the seventh century after Christ and the savage Mongol invasion in the beginning of the thirteenth century A.C. In order, therefore, to trace the age of Zarathustra from the existing traditions, we must take the help and guidance of the Greek and Roman classical writers. We find constant references to Zarathustra and his teachings in classical writers, owing to the might and prowess of the great Persian race on the one hand and the great popularity of Zoroastrian teachings on the other.

Whilst speaking about the Magi, these ancient historians referred generally to the age of Zarathustra. The Magi were originally the priests who offered prayers and performed ceremonies and were learned and wise amongst the people. The classical writers, however, definitely distinguish between the Zoroastrian Magi who were learned priests and the Chaldaean Magi who were mere sorcerers. The word Magi is purely Iranian and has no equivalent even in Sanskrit.

In my fourth lecture, I will speak of Ragha (Rae), which at present is a huge ruin near Teheran standing on its own original site. It was, at one time, the largest and most glorious city and province of old. It is twice mentioned in the Avesta and many times in the Achæmenian inscriptions. In the Pahlavi commentaries, two Raghas are mentioned, owing to a mistake resulting from the division of provinces on political grounds. Anyhow, there was only one Ragha, the famous city.

In my fifth lecture, I will discuss the question as to whether Gotama Buddha is ever referred to in the Avesta. We find mention of the influence of Buddhism on Iran in the later Iranian literature; so also we notice reciprocally Mazdayasnian influence on Buddhism. I have tried to show

that there is no possibility of Gotama Buddha having been mentioned in the Avesta. One thing, however, is certain; it is this that the Avesta has nothing to do with Gotama Buddha.

In my sixth and last lecture, I will give a brief review of Persian history. No doubt, it is not possible to deal with all the events of about three thousand years in one lecture. My idea is to touch only the salient points and to show the ups and downs of the Persian Empire and the ebb and tide of its glory at the various periods of history. We will be able to see from the brief review how Persia has been capable of rising every time after a fall. I shall try also to show the ethical and moral aspects of Persian history and thus explain how Persian ethics and morals were influenced by the teachings of the Zoroastrian religion. Finally, from the rapid and remarkable changes and progress of the last ten years made in Persia, one is tempted to believe that Persia will again rise to the height of her ancient glory, and God willing, it will be a mighty power for good in Asia, in the near future.

I assure you that all these six lectures are based on the facts of religion, history and philology, and my object, in accepting this call of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute to deliver these lectures, will be fulfilled if I succeed in showing to you some phases of the Iranian culture in the light of modern researches.

AIRYANA VAEJA [IRĀN VĒJ]

The Hindus and the Iranians, two of the Indo-European nations, have sprung from the same race. Both are called Aryans, and are very close and much alike. The existing written documents of the Aryans are the oldest of all the treasures of the Indo-European nations. To the Indo-Europeans, the Vedas of the Hindus and the Avesta of the Iranians are what the Tora is to the Semitic races ; they are the oldest scriptural documents of the world. The Hindus and the Iranians, both the communities called themselves Aryans. The word 'Aryan' means noble. We learn from the Rig-Veda that the Hindus, who came from the Indus and the Punjab and fought with the old inhabitants of this land, called these aborigines 'Dāsa', i.e., "savages" or "fiends," and it was in order to distinguish themselves from them that they called themselves 'Aryans.' According to Herodotus (7, 62), in the eighth century before Christ, the people of Media were generally called Aryans in Western Irān, where they formed their first kingdom. In his inscriptions of Naks-i Rustam in South Persia, the great Achæmenian king Darius, who flourished in the sixth century before Christ, said with great pride, "I am Darius, a great king, the king of kings, the king of many kingdoms and races, the king of this great and vast land, the son of Vistāsp (Hystaspes), the Hakhamanian, a Persian, the son of a Persian. I am an Aryan, of Aryan descent." After separation from the Hindus, the Iranians gave their name to the land which they conquered and that land was called Airyana, which is known as Irān to-day. Similarly, the Hindus, who came to the new country, first called it 'Āryavartta,' and later

'Bhāratavarsha' or 'Bhāratabhumi.' The very name 'Hindu,' generally adopted by the people of this land, is given to India by the Iranians. The name 'Sindhu', the country around the Indus, is given to the whole country, 's' being changed to 'h'. The Greeks, too, called this river as Indus. Only five centuries ago, 'Irān' was rightly pronounced 'Erān'. The country 'Airyana' and its people 'Airya', who are called Ārya in the Old Persian cuneiform and Sanskrit, have often been mentioned in the holy books of the Avesta. For example, گایامارتا (Gaya-maretan), called 'Kayumars' in the New Persian language, is the first human being according to the Avesta, as Adam is in the Semitic religion. He is mentioned in the Fravardin Yast, 87, where it is said: "Gayomard was the first man who listened to the admonitions and teachings of Ahura Mazdā. Ahura Madzā created from him the original root and the race of the Iranian (*i.e.*, Aryan) countries." In our deep researches relating to the Hindus and the Iranians, we go so far as to find more and more, in the oldest documents of the Vedas and the Avesta, of the closer resemblance between the languages, religions, ways of thought, customs and manners of these two peoples. Consequently, there is not the least doubt that these two peoples are from the same race, they lived once in one and the same land, they had one language, one religion and one character. The language of the Avesta and the language of the Vedas have only dialectal differences. As there are the same dialectal differences between the Avesta and the Old Persian cuneiform, samples of which are preserved in the Achæmenian inscriptions, Strabo wrote in his geography in the first century before Christ that all the Aryan languages were one and the same, there being only the differences of dialects. In order to show the close rela-

tionship between the Avestan and Sanskrit languages, the late German scholar Bartholomae, who was a great authority in Avestan studies, has cited a sentence from the Yasna (10, 8) which is a very important part of the Avestan texts and translated it word for word into Sanskrit as follows :—

•६४११,८९	•६४१७,७	•६४२५,३५	•६४२५,३५
तरुणम्	पुत्रम्	यथा	यो
•६४२५,३६	•६४२५,३७	१०८	•६४२५,३८
मत्त्येः	वन्देत	सोमम्	१०९
•६४२५,३९	१०८	१०८	१०८
ततुभ्यस्	आभ्यस्	प्र	१०८
१०८	१०८	१०८	१०८
भेषजाय	विशेते	सोमो	

The Avestan sentence quoted above would be translated thus: "Haoma enters, for healing, the limbs of the man who would make obeisance to Haoma as to a young son."

If we had not the vast Sanskrit literature that we possess, a part of the Mazdayasnân literature of the Zoroastrian religion would have undoubtedly remained ambiguous and unexplained. The French scholar, Burnouf, translated in 1833, through the help of Sanskrit, the Avestan Yasna, Chapter I. Thenceforward, through the light of Sanskrit, the Avestan studies were placed on a scientific basis. With the progress of the science of philology in Europe and investigations into the ancient knowledge of India, the contents of the Avesta have gradually come to light. The Pahlavi commentary of the Avesta called the 'Zand' is traditional and less reliable in comparison with the philological translation. Still this Pahlavi commentary is a key to the understanding

of the Avesta, and a sure and useful guide for the elucidation and solution of many of the Avestan passages. It is necessary to state further that the Avestan language was forgotten in those days when the commentary was written in Sasanian times. The commentators of the Sasanian times were obliged to content themselves with the traditional commentary of the holy Scriptures. We utilize the help of the Sanskrit language, not only in order to find out the exact meaning of words, but also to understand the contents of the Avesta, except in the case of the Gāthās. We have also to utilize the Sanskrit literature. There is again a part of the later Avesta, the contents of which can be explained through the Vedas and the famous epic Mahābhārata. We have some names of deities and heroes common to the Avesta as well as the Sanskrit literatures. There is certainly no doubt that Vedic scholars in their turn require the help of the old Persian Scriptures in the course of their work of research. According to the researches of orientalists, one part of the Vedas was written on Iranian soil and some of the Rishis (singers of the Vedas) were Iranian and many songs of the Vedas breathe the Iranian spirit. To support this statement, I should like to mention that the Vedic writers speak of beautiful horses; now this is a purely Iranian trait. The Avesta and the Vedas are the monuments of two sister nations of Aryan stock. Even to-day, after thousands of years, we can very well understand the feelings and thoughts of our renowned ancestors. These two literatures are quite free from the pollution of politics and economics of the last centuries, and are the only holy and unique heritage of the expressions of the heart relations of the ancient Iranians and Indians which have come down to us.

We cannot say with certainty to-day, where we Indians and Iranians lived together in olden times and when we separated from each other. I need not enter deeply into this subject and waste time in hypothetical speculations. But some historians conjecture that the appearance of the holy Zarathustra and the promulgation of his new religion were the causes of the separation of the Indians and the Iranians. We cannot give any attention to this baseless hypothesis. This much is certain that it was after the separation, after the Iranians had settled in Irân, that the holy prophet Zarathustra appeared. In the third lecture, I am to speak about the age of Zarathustra. Looking into the books of the Avesta and the Vedas, we find that there is a close resemblance between the Hindus and the Iranians in every respect. But when we look into the histories of later times, we see a difference between the character of these two peoples. These differences are shown to be due to the influence of the climate of their respective countries. After their emigration to the shore of the Indus and the plains of the Punjab, the Hindus gradually occupied the whole of India. Their place of sojourn was very warm and full of water; the land being very fertile, they had not to toil very hard for existence; they could easily get all the necessaries of life in abundance; and they became meditators and thinkers in this land of abundance and rest. On the other hand, the Iranians having migrated to the plains of Oxus (Amu-Darya) and Jaxartes (Sir-Darya), and spread gradually over the whole of the Iranian Table-land, were in a dry and waterless country. They had to suffer from a very hot summer and a freezing winter. They were forced to labour and struggle hard for their livelihood. The hard land and nature's obstructions made them valiant

warriors. This sturdy life made them heroic and firm. The valour and steadfastness of the Iranians and their glorious suzerainty over a large portion of the world are attributed to the conditions of their hard land.

Now we shall see in what country in Central Asia the Iranians settled themselves after their migration and what name they gave to it.

This country is often mentioned as **ایران** in the Avesta. Our modern name Irân is derived from the first part of the word. The philological meaning of 'Vaējānh' is not known. The orientalists trace its equivalent in the Sanskrit वीज, 'bija' or वीज, 'vija,' which means "seed." 'Airyana Vaēja' was not the name of the whole extensive tract of land called Irân, but it was the name given to that portion where the Iranians first settled and from where they gradually advanced further. The Iranians remember their first settlement with respect. With the lapse of centuries this ancient land took a spiritual aspect for the Iranians and they called it an earthly paradise. After the passing of very long periods, a thick thread of mythical web covered this cradle-land of the Aryans, and a doubt was created as to the existence of this land. When some of the orientalists saw the name of this country wrapped up with fables and myths, they were confused and they considered this land to be a celestial region. But there is no room for doubt to-day that Airyana Vaēja was the name of a country which really existed. It is only due to the absence of sufficient means and the length of past ages that we are not able to fix with certainty the exact situation of this place. We come across names of many provinces, mountains and rivers in the Avesta and they are fortunately preserved for us. We find some of these

names used by Greek and Roman historians and geographers, in the inscriptions of the great Achæmenian kings, and even some of the modern names are found to agree with these old names. For such names, there is no difficulty of identification. There are some names which are found only once in the Avesta, though often repeated in Pahlavi books where they are found without any explanation, without being mentioned anywhere else. In such cases we are not able to ascertain their exact location with certainty. The difficulties existing to-day of identifying these proper names in the Avesta, even existed 1300 years ago, in the Sasanian period, nay even before the Arab invasion in the seventh century after Christ. Because in those periods too, the people were far removed from the time of the appearance of the Mazdayasnâns, *i.e.*, believers in one God, and the composition of the various parts of the Avesta. The old problems took a mythical colour and shape and they appeared in another form and fashion. A group of such proper names had contradictory descriptions in Pahlavi books wherein various mixed and perplexing descriptions are to be found. These narrations prevent us from finding out the truth and are the cause of our misapprehensions to-day. For instance, the Pahlavi book 'Zand-Âkâsîh,' popularly known as the Bûndahîsn, written in the eighth century after Christ, clearly says in Chapter XXIX, 12, that Airyana Vaeja was by the side of Âzarbâijân. We further gather from several other passages of the same book that its author thought Airyana Vaeja to be in the North-western direction. Reading this description in the Bûndahîsn, some orientalists looked for it in the North-west; they there found a country in the neighbourhood of Âzarbâijân named Arân and therefore

they thought it to be the Airyana Vaēja of the Avesta. Arabian geographers have mentioned this country as Al-Arran, which is the same as Albania of the Greek and Roman writers. Estakhri, who lived in the tenth century after Christ, had located this country from the North-east to Darband, from the West to Tiflis, and from the South-west to the river Aras (Araxes). After two centuries, the well-known Yâkût (1178-1229 A.C.), wrote that Al-Arran was separated from Āzarbâijân by the river Aras (Araxes). He considered the land watered by the river Araxes to the North and the West to be Al-Arran. A century later, Hamdullah Mustowfi, in his book 'Kitâb-i Nuzhat-ul-Kulub', written in 1339 A.C., said: "The countries of Arân and Moghân are connected with the provinces of Armenia, Shirwân, Āzarbâijân and the Caspian Sea." In another place he said: "Arân was between the two rivers Araxes and Kur." After the Mongol invasion the southern part of old Arân was given a new name, 'Karâbâgh,' partly Iranian and partly Turkish. It is known even to-day as 'Karâbâgh,' i.e., "Black Garden." The reasons which led the orientalists astray to misunderstand this North-west country of Arân as Airyana were the Bûndahîsn, Chapter XXIX, 12, which located it on the side of Āzarbâijân, and its very name was the cause of the mistake. This country was known from old times with its Iranian name Arân which they confounded with Airyana. Neither of these two suppositions of the orientalists is correct; because the contents of the Bûndahîsn referring to the geographical names are not reliable. There are many examples of geographical mistakes in this book. The formation of the word 'Arân' must be carefully noted. The original word ایران must philologically become Irân (Irân) as it is to-day, and not 'Arân'. To these two arguments another

must be added. Arân was never an Aryan province. From what Strabo, the well-known Greek geographer of the first century before Christ, has said of the habits and customs of the inhabitants of Arân and Albania, it can be proved that this country was not Iranian. It is not logical to consider this country as the cradle-land of the Aryans. There is another group of orientalists who rightly indicate the location of Irân Vêj towards the East. Keipert supposes the location of Irân Vêj to be towards the South-east of Farghâneh. Geiger believes that Irân Vêj is to the North-east of Farghâneh, and the present Kuhistân, the neighbouring lands of Farghâneh, is the site of the old Airyana Vaêja. Tiele thought that Airyana Vaêja was in the North-east and the country of Khwârezm, the present Khivâ, was its original site. Justi has said that Khwârezm was the oldest settlement of the Iranians. Andreas also took Khwârezm to be the same as Airyana Vaêja. The late Professor Marquart, too, a great authority on old Persian geography, believed that Khwârezm was the old Airyana Vaêja. We have historical and philological arguments to prove conclusively that the modern Khivâ in Russian Turkestan was the original site of Airyana Vaêja which was located on the shores of the famous river Amu-Darija, called Oxus by the classical writers.

From the Avesta itself we can gather easily that by Airyana Vaêja, the country of Khwârezm is meant. Of the texts which mention Irân Vêj and its river Daiti, three paragraphs of the Vendidâd (*i.e.*, the Legal and Sanitary Code of the Zoroastrians), Chapter I, attract our special attention. This chapter mentions sixteen countries and the adversities produced by Anra Mainyu (*i.e.*, the Evil Spirit) against the good creatures of Ahura Mazdâ, for the harm and desolation of each of these

countries. Irân Vêj is placed at the head of these sixteen countries. The three paragraphs say:—

1. "Ahura Mazdâ spoke unto Zarathustra: 'O Spî-tama Zarathustra! I created places giving happiness where there was no joy. If I had not created places giving happiness where there was no joy, all the people would have flocked to Airyana Vaêja.'

2. "The first of places and countries that I Ahura Mazdâ created was Airyana Vaêja the best, where was the good river Dâiti. Anra Mainyu, full of death, produced there for adversity river snakes and devilish winter."

3. ["There are ten months of winter and two months of summer; (and these two months too) are cold for the water, cold for the earth, and cold for the plants. Here is the centre of winter, here is the heart of winter, after the winter comes to an end there come torrents."]

Thus commencing with Irân Vêj, the subsequent paragraphs mention the countries to the North-east and East of Irân, such as Sogdiana, Margiana, Bactriana, Nisaya between Margiana and Bactriana, Aria, Kabul and nine others. Of these sixteen countries, fifteen can be identified, and the first, Airyana Vaêja, is not at all mythical, but is quite identifiable just like the other fifteen. It is strange that the very old and renowned country, Khwârezm or the present Khivâ, is not mentioned in this list. We can, however, say with certainty that by خوارزم Khwârezm is meant in the paragraph mentioned above. As Khwârezm was the first settlement of the Iranians it was named Airyana Vaêja after them, in order to preserve the memory of old times. This country is known with its renowned name خوارزم, 'Kh'airizem,' also in the Avesta. Marv and Sogdiana are countries in its neighbourhood and are usually mentioned

together, *e.g.*, in Mihir Yast, 14. Mihir Yast, 13 mentions Khwârezm, Mary and Sogdiana where they are called *مکان‌های ایرانی*, *i.e.*, the settlements or abodes of the Iranians. Just like the first chapter of the Vendidâd, Darius the Great named Aria, Khwârezm, Bactriana and Sogdiana together, amongst the North-east and Eastern provinces which were under his suzerainty in his three inscriptions, one at Behistun and the other two in Fars, in Takht-i Jamsid and Naks-i Rustam.

Passing from the Avesta, we possess historical arguments also to show that in very old times Khwârezm was a famous country of the Iranians and was the centre of civilization in Central Asia. According to Herodotus 3, 117, before the foundation of the Achæmenian dynasty, in 559 B.C., Khwârezm possessed great glory and importance. As regards the importance, fame and antiquity of the civilization of Khwârezm, the religious books of the Iranians and the reports of old Greek historians bear ample testimonies. But this is not the time to speak of the history of this country.

Bûndahîsn, XVII, mentioning the names of the renowned fires, says, that Jamsid, who is also mentioned in the Hindu Scriptures, was the founder of the Frenabag Fire in Khwârezm. It was the protector of the first Iranian spiritual leaders. According to the Bûndahîsn, the location of this fire is 'Mount Khârêh-aumand', *i.e.*, "the Glorious Mountain."

Relating to the antiquity of Khwârezm, Al-Bîrûni's statement is worthy of note. In his book called 'Athâr-ul-Bâkiéh', written in about 1000 A.C., this learned writer states:—"To the Khwarezmiyans the coming of Siyavush the son of Kai-Kaus in Khwarezm was the starting point of their date."¹ In other words, the time of founda-

¹ Page 40, II. 41-44.

tion of the sovereignty of Khwârezm, which was counted at 980 years before Alexander the Great, was the beginning of the Era of the Khwarezmians. In this case, when we count the correct dates, we find that the invasion of Alexander the Great in Western Persia and the death of the last Achæmenian king Darius III took place in 330 B. C. Taking this into consideration, we can say that the civilization of Khwârezm was at its height 1310 years before Christ.

Many Avesta and Pahlavi passages depict the holiness of Irân Vêj and its river Dâiti. It is the soil on which descended the glory of Ahura Mazdâ and the Amesha-spends; it was the cradle of the civilization and the religion of Irân. The prophet of Irân received the revelation on the banks of the river Dâiti. The heroes of Irân propitiated the Yazatas on the banks of this river and thereby obtained salvation and success. For example, in the Vendidâd, II, 20-21, we read: "Ahura Mazdâ held a conference of the spiritual Yazatas in the renowned Airyana Vaêja (whither is) the good river Dâiti. King Yima, good protector of the flock, held a conference with the best of men in the renowned Airyana Vaêja (whither is) the good river Dâiti."

"To this conference came Ahura Mazdâ, the Creator, with the spiritual Yazatas in the renowned Airyana Vaêja, (whither is) the good river Dâiti. To this conference came King Yima, good protector of the flock in the famous Airyana Vaêja, (whither is) the good river Dâiti."

In Yasna IX, 4, we read: "In the renowned Airyana Vaêja, thou, O Zarathustra! first recitedst the 'Ahuna vairyâ' four times." In the Âbân Yast, 17-18, we read: "Ahura Mazdâ, the Creator, praised the Yazata Anâhita in the renowned Airyana Vaêja, (whither is) the good river Dâiti; He wished that He may lead the holy Zarathustra, son of Pourushaspa, to think, speak

and act according to religion." In the Rām Yast, 2-3, again we find: "Ahura Mazdā, the Creator, praised the Yazata Rāma, in Airyana Vaeja, of the good river Dāiti, and desired to vanquish Añra Mainyu (the Evil Spirit)." According to the Âbān Yast, 104-105, "The holy Zarathustra prayed in the renowned Airyana Vaeja of the good river Dāiti, and wished that he may lead the valiant Kava Vistāspa, son of Aurvataspa, to think, speak and act according to religion." According to the Gôs Yast, 25-26, "The holy Zarathustra desired of Drvāspa, in the renowned Airyana Vaeja of the good river Dāiti, that he may lead the good, noble Hutaosâ, wife of Vistāspa, to think, speak and act according to religion."

From the passages quoted above we should not, however, come to the conclusion that Zarathustra was born in the East of Irân. From the traditions and other evidence in our hands, we find that Zarathustra came from the West of Irân and had first propounded his religion in the East of Irân. The Zoroastrian religion had spread and progressed in the modern Russian Turkestan, and in the countries to the North-east and East of Irân including a part of Afghanistan. All these countries are the scene of our national epic and the battle field of our valiant heroes. The North of Irân, specially the provinces of Gilân and Mâzandarân, were the habitations of the 'divs' in the religious history of Irân. The religion of Zarathustra was not accepted in these countries including Arân which, before the migration of the Iranians, were the habitations of non-Aryan tribes, and it is therefore that in the Avesta they are called the worshippers and followers of 'divs' and 'drujs.' At a later period, all these Northern tribes came over to the Zoroastrian religion. The Southern Irân is not at all mentioned in connection with the spread of Zoroastrianism.

In consequence, we can say that all the epic scenes and religious movements were in countries close to India. They were the same countries from where the Iranians and the Hindus separated.

From all the arguments that I have advanced, I am compelled to think that Airyana Vaēja was in the East and nowhere else. At the end of the cycle of 12,000 years the future saviour (Saoshyant), it is stated, will come from the East of Irān, from the lake Hāmūn in Sistan.

We have seen above that, according to the Vendidâd, I, Airyana Vaēja is the coldest country. This fact is quite in keeping with the climate of Khwârezm. The geographer Istakhri says that Khwârezmiya is the coldest province on the river Oxus. Another geographer, Abu-l-Faqih (circa 902 A.C.), has said that Khwârezmiya was the coldest of all the Iranian countries. Now, the river Dâiti is often mentioned in the Avesta and Pahlavi books as the river of Airyana Vaēja. For the scholars who say that Airyana Vaēja is Arān, it would be the river Araxes or the river Kur or Safid-rud. For those who take Airyana Vaēja to be Farghâneh, it would be the river Zarafsân. If we take Airyana Vaeja to be Khwârezmiya, modern Khivâ, the Dâiti river would be the great Amu-Daria, called Jaihun. The river Dâiti of Airyana Vaēja is just like the river Jordan in Palestine. This holy river is called in Avesta دایتیا = “the good Dâityâ” from دای = “Law.” The word ‘dâitya’ is often used in the Avesta to mean “lawful.” As Zarathustra declared his “holy Law” on the bank of this river, it is named Dâitya. The epithet ‘varuhi’ (= “good”) is almost always used as the qualificative of the river ‘Dâitya.’ This epithet became ‘vēh’ in Pahlavi and ‘beh’ in Persian. It is absolutely clear that in the

mediæval period the river Jaihun is called 'Vēh-rūt', *i.e.*, "the Good River" in the Pahlavi writings with this Avestan attribute 'vānuhi.' The Chinese have also named this river as such. Its original ordinary Iranian name must have been 'Vakhshu', *i.e.*, "rising," "progressing," from the root **وَخْش** "to increase." The word 'vakhsh' is very often used in the Avesta with this meaning. In the Sanskrit literature 'Vakshu' is the name given to the river Oxus; it seems certain that the old geographers of Greece and Rome had taken from the Iranian word 'vakhshu' the name of the river Oxus. Iranian and Arabian geographers consider 'Vakhsha' to be a land on the bank of the Oxus, and 'Vakhsh-âb' is the name of one of the rivulets of Jaihun. Whilst speaking about the months and feasts of the Khwârezmiyans Al-Bîrûnî has said:—"On the tenth day of Mah Asfand the Khwarezmiyans held a feast called Vakhsh-Hangâm." Vakhsh is the name of the guardian spirit of the waters. It is specially the guardian spirit of the river Oxus.

I have said above that the Oxus is also called the Amu-Daria. It will not be out of place to say a few words here about the etymology of the word 'Amu', 'Amui' or 'Amul.' It was the name of a non-Iranian tribe of Tabaristan, the modern Mâzandarân. The name of this tribe is given to the town Amul in Mâzandarân. The name of this tribe was originally Mardâ or Amardâ. The old Greek and Roman historians called it Mardoi or Amardoî, *i.e.*, "pernicious" or "very pernicious." Alexander the Great constantly fought with this tribe till he subdued it. After Alexander, the Parthian king, Phraates I, drove them out to a place in the Caucasus. A branch of this tribe settled on an estuary of the river Oxus and further East. The city of Amul or Amui in the middle-century, which is the present Chaharjui, is named

after the same tribe. The river Oxus also took the name of this tribe. Yakut, following Hamzah-i Isfahani, has said that Harum was the old name of Oxus. Harum is probably a corruption of Vēh-rūd or Beh-rūd. Another mediæval geographer, Dameshki, has written Bad-rud as the name of the river Oxus. It is, however, clear that it is so written due to a mistake of orthography and the word must have been Beh-rūd.

In the end, let me add that from what we have seen above, Airyana Vaēja is the same as Khwârezm or the modern Khivâ, and the river Dāiti is the same as the river Oxus. We have noted above that Khwârezm is mentioned with its religious name Airyana Vaēja in the Vendidâd, I, in which sixteen countries are mentioned. In all his three inscriptions, one at Behistun and two at Persepolis, Darius the Great has mentioned Khwârezm amongst his North-eastern and Eastern Provinces exactly in the same order as in the first Fragard of the Vendidâd, namely, Herat, Khwârezm, Balkh and Sogdiana. Just as the Vendidâd describes Airyana Vaēja as a very cold country, the old geographer, Istakhri, mentions that Khwârezm is the coldest country in the East. Another geographer of the Moavian age, Abu-l-Fakih, mentioned Khwârezm as the coldest country of Irân.

It is very interesting to note here that in the 'Farhang-i Jehângîrî, a lexicon written in India in king Jehangir's time, the river Dāiti is mentioned as Amu-Daria with a further note that it is also called 'Âbehî.' This word Â-behi is exactly the same as 'Âb-i behî,' i.e., the Vēh-rûd of the Pahlavi writers.

TURAN

In my first lecture I spoke of the Aryans and of Airyana Vaeja, the first settlement of the Iranians.

Whilst speaking of the location of Airyana Vaeja, I tried to show how the Iranians had advanced in civilisation and culture and had led a settled life.

My subject, to-day, is: "The Turanian, an Aryan Tribe."

We must remember that the Turanians were the opponents of the Iranians from times immemorial. In the beginning of the new Iranian civilisation, tribes such as that of the Turanians had come into conflict with the advancing elements of the Iranian race. I mention in my lecture, to-day, some Turanian names, without giving their etymology, because their derivations are explained in Bartholomae's 'Altiranisches Wörterbuch' and in Justi's 'Iranisches Namenbuch,' where all the names occurring in the Avesta and Pahlavi literatures and in the Shâh-nâma are etymologically explained. The very fact that these names are of Iranian origin is enough to prove that the Turanians were originally Aryans.

The religion of Zarathustra is a religion of order and settled life. From the Gâthâs, too, we find that Zarathustra wanted to establish a higher order of culture than that of the wandering, nomadic tribes such as the Turanians. The adventurous moving tent life of the Turanians was not agreeable to the more cultured Iranians and there were, therefore, constant conflicts between them.

'Tûr' is a collective name given to all the nomad tribes who were not advanced in civilisation and not leading a peaceful settled life.

The Parthian, the Scythian or Sakae, the Massagetae and the Dahae were known by a common collective name as Turanians. We know, even to-day, that the Kurds, wherever they live, are good Iranians, although their ways of life are more or less nomadic.

To-day I will try to show why the Turanians were taken to be a foreign, *i.e.*, non-Aryan tribe, and the causes of such an appellation. At present, it will be enough to say that in the times of the Avesta and the old historical records where the Turanians are mentioned, the foreign non-Aryan Mongol tribes had not touched the Turanian soil which they penetrated much later.

In order to know something about the Turanian people, it is essential to have a knowledge of the religious history of the Iranians as well as the Brahmins. The Avesta mentions the Turanians and the Iranians and the heroes of these two communities who came into contact with one another. We find their mention also in our national epic. We similarly find Turanian names mentioned in the books relating to Brahmanism. The orientalists believe that a group of the Rishis or holy singers of the Vedas was Turanian, Scythian or Parthian. They maintain that from the style of many of the Vedic songs it can be said that they were written on the Iranian or Turanian soil or in Central Asia. My object here is to speak of the Turanians from the point of view of their relationship with the Iranians. In order to understand clearly whatever is said of the Turanians in the Avesta, I rely on the national epic of the Iranians and take other historical facts into consideration.

‘Tûra’ (તુરા) is the Avestan name of the people of Tûrân. ‘Tûrya’ (તુર્યા) is an Avestan adjective which means “belonging to Tûrân” or “the Turanian.”

The word 'Tûra' is taken to mean "valiant" or "adventurous." In Sanskrit the word has the same meaning. In Persian lexicons and in the writings of old writers and poets, it has the same meaning. Hakim Katrân has said: "The sky will not send any (Tûra) bold man to fight with you; if it sends he will be covered with dust, *i.e.*, he will die." This must be the original meaning of the word, but ever since the Turanians became the enemies of the Iranians, the Iranians took this word to mean 'divâna,' *i.e.*, "mad" or "savage." In two Persian dialects of to-day, namely, the Kurdi and the Gilâni, the word has the last meaning. Just as the word 'Ârya' has become a proper name of the Aryans, the word Tûra has become a proper name of the Turanians. In the Avesta the names of two holy families who are called Tûra are preserved. In the Fravardin Yast, 113 and 123, the 'fravashis' or the guardian spirits of Arejanh'at (آرجهانهات) and Frâràzi (فرارازی), the sons of Tûra (تۇرا), are praised. 'Tûrân' (تۇران), the name of the land of the Turanians, is a Pahlavi word. In Pahlavi the suffix 'ân' (ان) indicates the family name, e.g., 'Pâpakân,' as also the country, e.g., 'Gilân.'

The land of Tûrân was connected with Airyana Vaêja or Khwarezm, *i.e.*, the modern Khiva in Russian Turkestan, extending from the east of Oxus to the Aral Sea, which the medieval geographers called the Sea of Khwarezm.

The wars between the Iranians and the Turanians occupy an important part in our national epic. The Turanian king Afrâsiyâb, called 'Fraîrasyana' (فراسیان) in the Avesta, fought first with the Pêsdâdian kings and later with the Kayânian kings. These battles have been mentioned in the Avesta itself and the boundary of Tûrân is thus indirectly indicated.

In the Âbân Yast, 53-58, we read: "The valiant warrior Tusa worshipped Anâhita on the back of his horse. He begged of her a boon, saying: Grant me this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! that I may overcome the gallant sons of Vaësaka, by the castle Khshathrô-saoka, that stands high up on the lofty, holy Kaniha; that I may smite of the Turanian people their fifties and their hundreds, their thousands and their tens of thousands, and their myriads.

"The Turanian generals, the valiant sons of Vaësaka, also worshipped her in their turn, in the castle Khshathrô-sacka, that stands high up on the lofty, holy Kaniha, with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen and ten thousand small animals. They begged of her a boon, saying: Grant us this, O good most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! that we may overcome the valiant warrior Tusa, and that we may smite of the Aryan people their fifties and their hundreds, their thousands and their tens of thousands and their myriads."

In the passages quoted above, we find that before going to war the warrior of Irân prayed that he might vanquish the Turanians in his own land near the "fort of Kaniha." The generals of Tûrân also worshipped Anâhita in their own land in the "fort of Kaniha" and prayed that they might defeat the Iranians. The name of the mountain pass 'Khshathrô-saoka' is not mentioned anywhere else except in the passages quoted above. Its etymological meaning is "the light of the city." The name of the fort Kaniha is found in the Avesta as well as in the national epic. Kaniha is the city which Siyâvas son of Kaikâus had built at the time of his emigration from Irân to Tûrân. The episode is well-known that Siyâvas, on account of the treachery of his step-mother Sûdaba, went away to Tûrân and there married Firangiz, daughter

of the Turanian king Afrâsiyâb. At the instigation of Karsivaz, Siyâvas was charged with conspiracy against Tûrân and was immediately put to death by his father-in-law Afrâsiyâb. Kaikhusrû, son of Siyâvas, took the revenge on the Turanians for his innocent father's death. This battle is often mentioned in the Avesta. In the Bûndahîsn, XXIX, 10, it is said : "Kang-dez is in the direction of the east, many farsangs from the sea Frâkh'-kart." The 'Frâkh'-kart,' Avestan 'Vouru-kasha' (වුරුක්ෂා) = "of wide shores," may be the Caspian Sea. According to our literature and history 'Kang' is the land in the neighbourhood of Khwarezm. In the Minâ-i Khirât, LXII, 13-14, it is said that Kang-dez is set towards the east near Sata-vès, on the frontier of Irân-véj. Farrokhi, the poet of the eleventh century has said: "He (meaning the king) possessed the country extending from the mountain of Gilân to the other side of the plain and from the waters of Khwarezm to the other side of Kang." Marquart takes 'Kang' to be Samarkand, the capital of Sogdiana. 'Kaiîha' is also mentioned in the Tir Yast, 37-38. Tistrya is the producer of rain and is identified with the star Sirius. There it is said: "We worship the bright and glorious star Tistrya, swift-flying and swift-moving, which flies towards the sea Vouru-kasha, as swiftly as the arrow darted through the heavenly space, which Erehsha, the swift archer, the swiftest Iranian archer, shot from Mountain Airyô-khshutha to Mount Kh'anvant. Ahura Mazdâ gave it assistance and the Ameshâ-spentas and Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, pointed it the way; the tall good Ashi and Parendi on her light chariot went behind it, until it reached Mount Kh'anvant."

From these passages we find that Ahura Mazdâ helped this arrow, Mithra, the Yazata of light, pointed it the

way, and Ashi, the Yazata of wealth, and Parendi, the Yazata of abundance, led the arrow to its destination. The arrow was shot in order to fix the boundary line between Irân and Tûrân. This episode is found in all the books of Persian history. The Turanian king Afrâsiyâb, after having conquered Minochehr at Tabaristân (modern Mâzandarân), made a treaty of peace for the settlement of the boundaries of Irân and Tûrân. It was so proposed that the famous archer Erekhsa should dart an arrow and the place where it fell be fixed as the boundary line between the two countries. We cannot identify either the mountain Airyô-khshutha, from where the arrow was shot or the mountain Kh'anvant where it fell. The former, which is in Tabaristân, is considered by some old writers to be Sârî; according to others it is Rûyân and others take it to be a hill in its vicinity; the latter, which is in the eastern Irân, is, according to different opinions, in Margiana or in Sogdiana or on the shore of the river Oxus. Any way, we have to suppose that the place where the arrow fell must be in the vicinity of Sogdiana or Samarkand. Ptolemy, the Greek geographer of the second century A.C., says that Tûra is a district in Khwarezm. Al-Khwarezmi, who lived in the tenth century of the Christian era, says in his book called 'Mafatih-ul-'ulûm,' that the region of Tûrân, according to the Iranians, is ordinarily the country close to the river Oxus. In the Shâh-nâma, Tûrân is the country of the Turks and the Chinese, and is separated from Irân by the river Oxus. In all the Iranian and Arabic books of the middle ages which we have consulted, we find an inclination of these writers to place Tûrân in Transoxiana. Modern scholars and orientalists believe that the Turanian was either a tribe living in the Russian Steppes and in Asiatic-

Russia, or it was the nomad tribe which spread from the Caucasus to the river Araxes.

Now we will take up the question of the origin and the race of the Turanians. After studying the Avesta and Pahlavi religious books, national histories and traditions, and the old classical writers, there remains not the slightest doubt that the Iranians and the Turanians were both of the same origin and race, with this difference that the Iranians soon settled down and progressed rapidly towards civilisation, whilst the Turanians remained nomads. The old tradition is repeated in all our books that Faridun, Thraëtaona of the Avesta, and Trita (त्रित) of the Sanskrit literature, son of Âbtin, i.e., Âthwyâna of the Avesta and Âptya (आप्त्य) in Sanskrit, was a king of the Pêsdádian dynasty, (i.e., the dynasty of the first law-givers). He divided his country amongst his three sons Salm, Tûr and Iraj. Each of them gave his own name to his realm, and they became known as Salmân, Tûrân and Irân. According to the Dinkard, Book VIII, Ch. 12, 9, it was stated in the Avestan Chitradât Nask, i.e., the eleventh of the twenty-one books of the Zoroastrians, that Faridun divided his kingdom of the Kh'âniras, the central region of this earth, amongst his three sons Salm, Tûr and Iraj. Unfortunately the Chitradât Nask is not extant to-day, but this tradition is mentioned in all the historical books in detail. It is exhaustively treated in the Shâh-nâma and the Bûndahîsh, XXXI, 9-14. The countries of these three sons and two others are mentioned in the Avesta. In the Fravardin Yast, 143-145, it is said: "We praise the Fravashis, the guardian spirits, of the holy men and women of Irân; we praise the Fravashis of the holy men and women of Tûrân; we praise the Fravashis of the holy men and

women of Sairima. We praise the Fravashis of the holy men and women of Saini; we praise the Fravashis of the holy men and women of Dâhi. We praise all the Fravashis of the faithful from Gayamaretan to Saoshhyant."

From these passages we find that after mentioning five countries, the Fravashis of all the holy men and women of all the countries from Gayamaretan the first man up to Saoshhyant the last man and *Messiah* of the Mazdayasnâns are praised. We must note here that the later writers, counted the region of the Turk, the Khazar, China, Tibet and the East as the countries of Tûr, and the region of Rome, Russia, Alam and the West as the countries of Salm. We will explain later on how this confusion arose. In contradiction to this mistake, we find that Irân, Tûrân, Salmân, Saini and Dahi, all these five countries mentioned in the Fravardin Yast, belong to the Aryan people.

The Sairimas or the Salmân are the people of Sarm or Salm and are named Sarmat or Sauromat by the classical writers. Their country was extended from the north-east of the lake Aral to the river Volga. According to the classical Roman writers, Diodorus and Pliny the Elder, the Medians were the relatives of the Sarmats.

As regards the Saini (සානි) of the Fravardin Yast, 144, we know nothing and it is not possible to identify this country. The suppositions and hypotheses of scholars do not help us to identify the place.

The Dâha (දාහ) are the Dasa of the Rig Veda. They were savages or barbarians opposed to the Aryas, i.e., the nobles. Their country was to the east of the Caspian Sea. Dahistan, the country of Daha to the north of Hyrcania, belongs to this people. According to

Berosus, the priest and historian of the third century B.C., "Cyrus the Great in his last battles fought with the Dâhis." Arien, the Greek historian of the first century A.C., wrote that a part of the soldiers of Darius III, who fought with Alexander, was composed of the Dâhis. Afterwards, these Dâhis were also in the cavalry of the archers of Alexander and Antiochus. A part of the army of the Parthians was made up of this tribe. The second Parthian king Tiridates (243-214 B.C.) had proceeded to vanquish the Seleucides with the help of the Pârs, who were a branch of the Dâhis. At any rate, we come across the history of this bold Dâhi people and their country between the river Oxus and the Caspian Sea from the oldest time to the Arab invasion in the seventh century A.C. Whilst speaking of Cyrus the Great, Herodotus (I, 125) mentions some Iranian tribes in Pars, whom Cyrus desired to revolt against Astyages, the last king of the Medians. Amongst these tribes one was named the Dâhi, which was composed of nomads and shepherds. From this account of Herodotus, we know that the Dâhi tribe had spread in different places of Iran. From various geographical writings of the middle ages we find that Dahistan, the country of the Dâhis, is mentioned as located in the various parts of Iran. The Greeks gave the collective name Scyth to the Dâhis, the Sarmats, the Massagetes, a tribe in the vicinity of the lake Aral and called by them with its indigenous name Massyagattes meaning fish-eaters, and other tribes. The Parthians and their branch the Parians were nomads; we must, therefore, class them as Turanians or as Scythians just as the Greeks did.

Whilst writing of the dress and weapons of the Iranian army fighting with the Greeks in 480 B.C.,

Herodotus (7, 64) states that the Sakas, who were of Scythian nationality, wore long pointed helmets. Even if they were Amyrgioi or Scythians, the Iranians called them the Sakas. It is no mistake to say that these Sakas and Scythians are Turanians.

Whilst mentioning all the countries under his sway in his inscriptions of Behistun and Persepolis, Darius the Great does not say anything about Tûrân, but he mentions the three tribes of the Sakas. The first is the Saka Haumavarka, *i.e.*, the Saka with the Haoma leaves; perhaps this Saka tribe used the Haoma plant, the सोम of the Hindus. From this word we can trace the Aryan civilisation of this tribe. The second is the Saka tighra-khauda, *i.e.*, the Saka having pointed helmets. This tribe might be the same as the Amyrgioi of Herodotus. The third is the Saka tara-draya, *i.e.*, the Saka on the other side of the sea. According to the German scholar Weissbach, this tribe must be of the Bosphorus and the Black Sea. The Aryan names, habits and customs of these people particularly, which have reached us from the accounts of classical writers, leave no room for doubt as to their Iranian origin. They resemble the Medians and the Persians in all their traits. Darius the Great does not mention, in his inscriptions, the country named after the Saka, *i.e.*, Sakastâna, the modern Sistân; but he mentions Zaranka, which was the name of this country before the migration of the Saka. The classical writers called it Zarangoi or Drangiana. At the end of the last century before Christ, the Sakas migrated to Zaranka, gave their own name to this new place and called it Sakastâna, which is the Sistân of to-day.

It is very interesting to note here the fact that in the recent excavations at Persepolis, four plates are

unearthed, two of gold and two of silver, each weighing nearly three maunds and four seers. They are inscribed, as in Behistun, in three languages, *viz.*, the Achæmenian, the Babylonian and the Susian. Darius the Great, whilst giving the limits of his dominions says in these inscriptions: "Darius the great king, the king of kings, the son of Vistâspa, the Hakhamanishiya, says that my dominions extend from Saka which is beyond Sogdiana upto Kûsha, and from the Hindu countries upto Spardâ; Auramazda who is the great Lord granted me these dominions. May Auramazda protect me and my clan."

From the inscriptions on these new plates, we learn that the dominions of Darius extended on one side from the boundaries of China where lay the countries of the Saka or the Turanians up to Sudan and Abyssinia in Africa, and on the other side from the Hindu countries up to Lydia in the Mediterranean.

Another branch of the Turanians is called Dânu (دّانو) in the Avesta. In the Abân Yast, 72-73, three Iranians, offering their worship to Auâhita, desire to vanquish the Turanian Dânu. We read in the Fravardin Yast, 37-38, also: "We praise the good, strong, holy Fravashis of the faithful, having many battalions, girded with weapons, with glittering banners, who came down in fierce battles towards the Khstâvis, there where the valiant Khstâvis (خستاوس) assailed the Dânu's.

According to the Zamyât Yast, 41, Vareshava Dânavana (وارشوا دانوانا) is one of the heroes killed by Keresâspa. He seems to have been a descendant of the Turanian Dânu. In the Vedas Dânu is the name of a class of demons against whom Indra fought. The Hindus used this word as the name of a demon inimical to their deity, and the same word was used by the

Iranians for a tribe of their Turanian adversaries. We have seen above that Dâha, Sanskrit Dâsa, was used by the Iranians, at a later period, as the name of another Turanian tribe.

The Khvyaona (خیونا) of the Avesta seems to have been a Turanian tribe. Next to Tuirya Franirasyana, the Turanian Afrâsiyâb, of the Avesta, is Arejat-aspa (ارجات اسپا), who is called Arjasp in the Shâh-nâma, a Turanian king and nephew of Afrâsiyâb. Like Afrâsiyâb he is not actually called Turanian; however, he belongs to the tribe of the Khvyaona. In Pahlavi books, such as the Dinkard, Book VII, Ch. 4, 87-89, the Yâtgâr-i Zarîrân and the Sahrastâni Irân, 9, Arjasp is said to have belonged to the Khvyaona tribe. Our knowledge of this tribe is very limited. This tribe must be that of the Huns or the Hephthalites. Consequently, it may be conjectured that this word was introduced in the Avestan literature in the fourth century after Christ. Amianus Marcellinus speaks of such a tribe who fought with the Sasanian king, Sâhpor II. We may surmise that all the enemies of Irân, to whatever race they belonged, were called Turanians. Similarly, we might say that Arjasp, king of Tûrân, the old adversary of Irân, was named after the Khvyaonas, adversaries of the Iranians in the fourth century A.C. In the Shâh-nâma and other books of Persian history the Khvyaona tribe is not mentioned. In old classical history, Amianus Marcellinus, who was born in 330 A.C. and was living in 390 A.C., has mentioned a community called the Chionitae in Latin. This historian, who had taken part in the battle of Rome, had accompanied Emperor Julianus against Sâhpor II and was an eye-witness to the battle, has often spoken of the Chionitae. As stated by this historian in his Book 16, Ch. 9, Sâhpor II fought with

the Chionitae and the Cuseni (Kūsān) on the extreme boundary of his country in Balkh, in 356 A.C. After some time Sāhpor made peace with the Chionitae and the Gilānis (Book 17). When Sāhpor's army advanced against Rome, Grumbates, the king of the Chionitae, was riding on his left hand and the king of Albania on his right. Grumbates was a middle-aged man, wise and experienced, looking older than he was, and had earned fame by the many victories he had gained (Book 18, Ch. 6). Amianus, in Book 9, Ch. 1, speaks of this war and the siege of Amida (the present Diarbaker) by the Iranians in detail. In this siege, a young and handsome son of Grumbates was pierced by a sharp arrow which a Roman soldier had shot from the fort of Amida, and died. Amianus gives the details of this son's beauty and the army's lament on his death. His body was burnt after this. It is evident from this information that the Chionitae were the followers of the old Aryan religion and burnt the dead as against the laws of the Sasanian religion. These Chionitae may or may not be identified with the Khvyaona of the Avesta. However, they are latterly regarded as Turks by the Iranians. As we shall see, the Iranians called all the Turanians as Turks and Chinese.

We have said that Arejat-aspā was called Kh'yaona in the Avesta. In the Zamyāt Yast, 83-87, we read :

" We praise the strong Kayanian Kh'arena, created by Mazdā,...that clave unto Kava Vistāspa,...so that he believed in this Daēnā, vanquishing the foes and keeping the daēvas away from the holy men; he sought a free passage for the holy Law with the mace raised up; he became the arm and the support of this Ahurian Zarathustrian Daēnā; he freed her (Daēnā) standing in bondage from the Hunus; he gave her a high position.

The valiant Kava Vistâspa vanquished Tâthryavant (તાથ્રયાવંત) of the evil law, Peshana (પેશના) the daêva-worshipper, the wicked Arejat-aspa and other wicked Kh'yaonas."

We find the name of Arjâsp's brother Andarimân (અંડરિમાન) who wished to conquer Kava Vistâspa and his brother Zairivairi, in the Âbân Yast, 116-117.

If we pass from the Turanian king Arjâsp, Andarimân, Tâthryavant and Peshana, the other Kh'yaona heroes, mentioned in the Avesta, are Humayaka¹ (હુમાયકા), Asta-aurvant (અસ્તા-ઓરવંત), son of Vîspôthaurvô-asti² (વિસ્પોથાર્વો-અસ્તી), Darshinika³ (દર્શિનિકા), and Spinja-uruska³ (સ્પિંજા-ઉરુસ્કા).

All these are Aryan names and their meaning is clear. There is no doubt as to their Aryan origin. These heroes all are mentioned in the Avesta in connection with the war, which took place between the Iranians and the Turanians, for the religion of Zarathustra. Moreover, the names of all the generals mentioned in the 'Yâtgâr-i Zarirân,' the Shâh-nâma and other books of history are Aryan. According to the Shâh-nâma, this religious war was fought on the boundaries of the Jaihun (Oxus). But the Yâtgâr-i Zarirân, 12, declares that the battle-field was in Marv (Margiana). We must remember that, looking to the history, the tribes and branches of the Turanians, it is difficult to recognize their whereabouts as mentioned by the classical writers, because these wandering nomad tribes were not sticking to one place of agriculture and industry, and they were shifting, at every epoch, from place to place, and did not lead

1 Âbân Yt., 113.

2 Ashi Yt., 50.

3 Ashi Yt., 51.

a settled life, some branches staying in one country and some in another. At different periods, the north and the east of Irân were the seats of activity of these tribes.

The Parthians also form one group of these Turanian tribes. They settled in the modern Khorâsân and gave their own name to that province. In the Behistun and Naks-i Rustam inscriptions, Darius the Great mentions Parthava along with other countries. In the Behistun inscription he says: "At one time, Parthava and Varkâna (Gôrgân) rose in rebellion. My father Vistâspa quelled it on the 22nd day of the month Viyakhna," (*i.e.*, the 5th February, 521 B.C.).

Here I take the opportunity to say a few words on 'Parthava'. The word 'Pahlav' comes from the word 'Parthava.' The 'Pahlavi' or 'Pahlavâni' language is supposed to have originated from the 'Parthava.' Firdausi says:—

اگر پهلوانی ندانی زبان بقای تو ارورد را دجله دان

"If you do not know the Pahlavâni language, know thou that in the Arabic language the name of the river Arvand is Dijleh (*i.e.*, the Tigris)."

The word 'pahlavân,' meaning "heroic," "bold," used in many languages of India too, is to be traced to the name of this tribe. Justi derives it from 'parthava,' meaning "side" or "boundary," because the Parthavas originally lived at the foot of the mountains.¹ But Khorâsân, the name given to the country of the Parthavas, etymologically means "the seat of the sun" or "the east." This name was given to all the countries of eastern Irân to the extreme boundary of the present Russian Turkestan. During the Achæmenian rule, when Khwarezm was taken away from the Parthavas, Balkh became the capital of Khorâsân and the seat of the

1 'Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie,' II, 481.

'Khshathrapâvans,' *i.e.*, Governors. The Greek classical writers have changed this word to 'Satrap.' The Askanians who ruled in Irân, the rulers of Armanastân, of Argandab and Sistân, were all Parthians.

In the beginning of my lecture, I have said that the Turanian country was connected from the east with Khwarezmiya. Hecatæus, the historian and geographer of the sixth century B.C. (550-476 B.C.), has written that the country of Khwarezmiya was inhabited towards the east by the Parthians. It is certain that this group of the Parthians must be a part of the tribes who remained in Central Asia. Parthava and the branches of these tribes were called Scythians by the Roman writers. In other words, all these wandering nomad Aryan tribes were called Turanian in contradistinction to other agricultural and settled Aryan tribes called Iranian. The habits and customs, as mentioned by the classical writers, of all the Saka tribes, prove that their religion was the same as that of the Aryans. From our national epic, we observe that the Turanians and Iranians possessed the same religion before the appearance of the holy Zarathustra, and the war of Arjâsp, king of Tûrân, was due to the fact that Kava Vistâspa, turning his face from the old religion, had adopted the religion of Zarathustra. The Pahlavi Yâtgâr-i Zarirân, whilst describing the war of religion, says that "Arjâsp had sent a letter to Kai Vistâspa, asking him to refrain from this holy religion and to be of the same faith with him. According to the Shâh-nâma also, the old religion, which was followed before Zarathustra, is highly spoken of in the letter which Arjâsp wrote to Gustâsp, and it was regretted that the divine glory had passed away on account of the new religion. This religious war and all that is written about it, is proof positive that the

Turanians and the Iranians had followed the same Aryān religion ; otherwise this war with such religious fervour would be without meaning. We can see from the Avestan literature itself, that in the beginning of the Zoroastrian religion, some Turanians were sympathetic towards Zoroastrianism, as the prophet of Irân has said in his own words in the Gâthas (Yasna 46, 12) : " When by the effort of Armaiti, by whose radiance heaven will be organised, Truth will come to the praiseworthy descendants and relicts of the Turanian Fryânas, Vohuman will introduce them to the eternal kingdom, and Ahura Mazdâ will protect them on the day of judgment." The family of Fryâna, according to the Pahlavi books, was friendly to Zarathustra. In the Fravardîn Yast, 120, the Fravashi of Yôista (ءَايِسْتَ) of the Fryâna family is praised. According to the Âbân Yast, 81, Yôista worshipped Anâhita on the bank of the river Ranhâ, (*i.e.*, the Sir-Darya or Jaxartes), in the country of Tûrân, and wished to vanquish Akhtya, his adversary. In the Fravardîn Yast, 96, the Fravashis of the first followers and teachers of religion are praised. Amongst them, is mentioned Isvant (ءَسْوَنْتَ) son of Varâza (وارَازْ). The Dînkard, Book IX, Ch.32, 5, whilst summarising the tenth Pargard of the Varstmânsar Nask, says : " Isvant, son of Varâz, of the country of Tûrân, will become Âtarevakhs at the time of the Renovation of the world, *i.e.*, at the Resurrection." Gradually, the Turanians, too, adopted Zoroastrianism. The Parthians or Askâniens, who ruled from 250 B.C. to 224 A.C. were Zoroastrians. But the first kings of this dynasty were under the influence of the Greeks, *i.e.*, the Seleucides, who ruled after the Achæmenians from 323 to 250 B.C. They gradually came out of the Greek influence and from the time of Vologeses I, who ruled from 51-78 A.C.,

onwards, their coins bore the Aramaic instead of Greek characters and they no longer called themselves Philhellenes, *i.e.*, the friends of the Greeks, as they used to do in the past. According to the Dinkard, Book III, the Valkhash or Vologeses I was the first Iranian king, who gathered together the Zoroastrian books after the invasion and ruin brought about by Alexander, when the Avestan writings were totally scattered and destroyed. He must be Vologeses the first, because he is specially described in Iranian history as a very religious man. We learn from the Roman historians that Tiridates, brother of Vologeses I, was invited to Rome by the Emperor Nero to be crowned king of Armenia. But Tiridates would not go to Rome, crossing the sea, as water was a sacred element and he could not pollute it; he, therefore, took a very long route overland. On another occasion, Vologeses I was invited to Rome but he replied that king Nero should come over to him, as it was easy for him to cross the big sea. Nero could not understand the meaning of such a reply and took it to be an insult. It is a proved fact in history that the Parthians who ruled in Armanastân and those who ruled on the banks of the Indus and were known as Indo-Parthians were all Zoroastrians. That the quarrel between the Turanians and the Iranians was not only religious, is also clear. Because before the appearance of Zarathustra, the fights of the Turanian king Afrâsiyâb, first with the Pêsdâdian kings and then with the Kayanian kings, are well-known. In the Avesta, we find Afrâsiyâb competing with the Iranians for capturing the Kayanian Glory (کایانی شرمندی) of Irân. We read in the Âbân Yast, 41-43, that the Turanian murderer Frangrsayan (Afrâsiyâb) worshipped Anâhita, in a cave underneath this earth, with a hundred horses, a thousand oxen and ten thousand small animals, that he

may seize hold of that Glory which is floating in the sea Vouru-kasha, and which belongs to the Aryan people, to those born and those not yet born, and to the holy Zarathustra. Anahita did not grant him that boon. The Zamyât Yast, the oldest epic of Irân, dealing with the Kayâanian Glory, states in 56-64 how the wicked Turanian Frangrasyan endeavoured to capture the Kayâanian Glory which belonged to the Aryan nations born and unborn, and to the holy Zarathustra. Three times he threw himself into the sea Vouru-kasha and struggled hard to seize the Glory, but he did not succeed; he, therefore, came out disappointed and uttered foul words. According to the Zamyât Yast, 93, Afrâsiyâb had secured this Glory temporarily, so that he might kill the wicked Zainigao (زئنیگا), enemy of Irân. One of the noted fights between the Iranians and the Turanians had taken place between Afrâsiyâb and Kaikhusrû, which ended with the death of Afrâsiyâb. This fight was undertaken by Kaikhusrû in revenge of his father, the holy and innocent Siyâvas who was unjustly killed by Afrâsiyâb. This war is referred to in Yasna XI, 7, Gôs Yast, 17-18, 21-22, and Zamyât Yast, 77, 93.

The names of the two brothers of Afrâsiyâb, Karsivaz and Agrirath, are found in Persian and are preserved in the Avesta as Keresavazda (کرساده) and Aghraêratha (اگرهاڑا). From the Zamyât Yast, 77, we find that the two brothers Frangrasyan and Keresa-vazda were put in bonds by Kava Husrava (Kaikhusrû). Aghraêratha, who was a pious man and a friend of the Iranians, was killed by his brother Frangrasyana, but Kai-khusru avenged his murder. Syâvarshana (Siyâvas) and Aghraêratha are often mentioned together in the Avesta. In the Fravardin Yast, the Fravashi of Aghraêratha is

praised in the same rank as that of other holy Iranians. We must note that all these three names Frangrasyana, Keresavazda and Aghraératha are Aryan. In the traditions, too, we find that Afrâsiyâb is shown to have been of Aryan origin. In the Shâh-nâma and in the Pahlavi and other historical books, the genealogy of Afrâsiyâb, traced five generations upwards, reaches Tûra, son of Thraêtaona (Faridun). We have seen that Faridun had divided his dominions amongst his three sons: Salm, Tûr and Irâj. Each of these gave his own name to his dominion which was respectively called after the name of each of them as Sarmân or Salmân, Tûrân and Irân. Omar Khayyam, in his 'Nav-ruz Nâma,' indicates the boundaries of Tûrân from the river Oxus to China and says that the kings of Irân, Tûrân and Salmân are from the same origin, are related to each other and are the children of Faridun.

Another cause of the differences between the Turanians and the Iranians was the rapid advance of the Iranians in civilization, whilst the Turanians remained in a nomad state. The settled and agricultural Iranian tribes were plundered and robbed by the wandering Turanians. The Ashi Yast, 55-56, has preserved the story of the fight between the Turanians and the Naotaryâns, *i.e.*, the Kayanian descendants of Naotara (Nôzar). The Yazata Ashi says: "When the Turanians and the Naotaras with their swift horses banished me, then did I hide myself under the foot of a bull...; but the youths of tender age and the maidens, who have known no man, drew me from out of my hiding-place. Even when the Turanians and the Naotaras with their swift horses banished me, then did I hide myself under the throat of a ram, whose flock is an hundred sheep; but the youths of tender age and the maidens who have known no man,

drew me from out of my hiding-place.”¹ The German scholar Dr. Reichelt, drawing our attention to this beautiful and allegorical description of the fight between the Naotaras, *i.e.*, the Kayanians and the Turanians, says:— “The continual warfare between the Turanians and the Naotaras drives wealth from the land. The goddess of wealth therefore flees to the bull and the ram, who symbolize the source of all wealth, to people in a low state of civilisation. But the people who are compared to inexperienced youths and maidens, do not understand the meaning of her flight, that wealth is to be found in the peaceful pursuit of cattle-breeding, and drew her from her hiding-place by taking delight in continual warfare.”¹

I have tried to explain all the Turanian names occurring in the Avesta and to show that the Turanians are counted as Aryans everywhere with this difference that the Turanians were lower in the grade of civilisation than the Iranians, and they did not give any attention to welfare and agriculture. Even in the later periods, they are found persistently clinging to the habits and customs peculiar to the nomads. They had no liking for industry and activity preached by Zarathustra. According to very old traditions, we have seen that the Iranians and the Turanians are descended from the same stock and the genealogy of kings of the Turanian dynasty is traceable to the Pèsdàdian king, Faridun. Besides this, the names of all the Turanian heroes which occur in the Avesta, the Shâh-nâma and other books of history are Aryan and their etymological meanings can be understood; hence there is no doubt that the persons known by those names were Aryans. The reports of the classical historians of Greece and Rome,

1 See the “Dastur Hoshang Memorial Volume,” p. 398.

relating to the different Scythian and Saka tribes, who were Turanian, and all their customs and habits, are proofs of their having been Aryan. In the later writings such as the *Shâh-nâma* and other historical books and the Pahlavi books of the mediæval period, which are based on the traditions existing in the Sasanian times, the Turanians, the Turks and the Chinese are all mentioned as one without any distinction. Nêryôsang, the famous Parsi Dastur of Sanjan of the twelfth century A.C., in his Sanskrit commentary of the *Avesta*, translates 'Tûra' as 'Turushka,' which probably means the Turks. All the religious books and national epics, in which the Turanians are mentioned, speak of a period when the Turk and the Mongol races had not reached the Turanian soil. How can we solve this enigma? The late Professor Marquart, one of the greatest orientalists, a specialist in geography and ancient Persian history and an eminent authority writes: "There are many evidences in our hands that from old time the Iranians were leading a settled town-life and were industrious and agriculturists." The *Gâthâs* of Zarathustra, which are the oldest written documents of the Iranians, supply the best evidence of this statement. In contrast with their neighbours and correlatives, they had a special inclination towards agriculture and settled habitation. Owing to this reason, their pomp and dignity increased and they were envied by the Turanians. The Turanian wandering nomads often attacked the Iranian land and took away their goods. Iranian civilisation gradually attained to such a height that the plundering Turanian tribes were considered foreign and the Iranians were ashamed to consider them their kith and kin and to recognise them with their own honored name as Aryan. They were then stamped out and excommunicated and began to be called

'Anaryan,' *i.e.*, "non-Iranian" or "foreign." The penetration of these foreign tribes in Tûrân took place somewhere between 126 to 140 B.C. The fall of Balkh and Sogdiana at the hands of these foreigners, the dispersion of the Iranians to the country sides and their subordination to the foreigners, removed all the racial distinctions. From very old times, the Iranians used to call their neighbours to the west as Turanians and considered them their enemies. Even later, any plundering savage tribe which came to Tûrân and pillaged and laid waste was known as Turanian whether it really belonged to the Turanian race or not. When the land in the vicinity of the Jaxartes and the Oxus was devastated by the Mongols in the first century before Christ, the recollection of the old plunder and pillage, which they had experienced in the past at the hands of the Turanians, came to the minds of the Iranians. The emigrant tribes, which came to this land from time to time and carried on the work of marauding and murder, were named Turanian by the Iranians, whether they were Aryan, Mongol, Hephthalite, Turk or Tartar.

Just as the Greeks used the term 'barbaros' for all those who were not Greek, the Iranians used the word 'Tûra', for all the non-Iranians. Whenever there is a mention of the fight between Irân and Tûrân, one and the same man is at one time called Turanian, at another time Turk, at another Chinese and Payghu. That is, all these words were used synonymously.

As a result of this confusion of terms, the Ottoman Turks who are of Mongolian origin, consider themselves to be Turanians and think that Tûrân is their original home. It is probable that behind this word there is some political meaning, *i.e.*, Pan-Turkism. Before the Great War, Turkey thought of the rise of Pan-Islamism.

We are seeing the result of their past thoughts; the fruit of their present attitude, we will see in the future.

As the word 'Tûra' has a faint resemblance with the word 'Turk,' as one part of the province of eastern Irân including the Turanian soil was specially called Russian Turkestan in the later times, and as the reports of all the old writers, were confusing, all these three reasons together tempted the Turks to consider themselves of Turanian origin. A group of the present day Turkish leaders and writers, owing to their unfounded enthusiasm for Tûrân, have created this idea amongst their compatriots. One of these, Zia-Guk-Alp, has said: "O children of Okuz Khan! do not ever forget the country whose name is Tûrân." In another verse he has said: "The fatherland of the Turks is not Turkey or Turkestan, but it is the great eternal land of Tûrân." According to the opinion of such Turkish writers, who claim that the Turks are the descendants of the Turanians, it is a point of great virtue for their race to be related to the Turanians. The following is the résumé of the book named "Aryan and Turanian," written by a Turkish author:

"All the Indo-European people are a branch of the Turks. They migrated to other countries from Central Asia which was the soil of the Turkish race. The Semitic people also belonged to the same race. It is totally false to believe that the Aryan and the Turk are two different races. The whole world is indebted to the Turanian race for its civilisation. The Aryan people have also a right to be the proud participants in this honour; because, looking to their race and language, the Aryans belong to the Turanian people. The tribe 'Ar' is a Turkish tribe. Every one of the Turanian tribes has a right to be the creator of the civilisation of mankind. Nobody has the right to say that this honour

belongs to him alone. This civilisation started in Siberia and spread from thence over all the countries of Europe and Asia. In other words, this civilisation came from the people of Siberia, *i.e.*, the Turanians. It is the same civilization which reached India, China, Babylon, Egypt and the shores of the Mediterranean."

As the fundamental idea of this author is groundless, all the arguments advanced in this lengthy book of 546 pages, are not worthy of credence. I do not know what the author means by 'Ar' in the Turkish language. I remember what I have read in a work of the German Professor Littmann, whilst speaking of the household etymology of people of this category. He says: "In 1900 A.D., in Hama, a town in Syria, I met a Turkish officer who was of Arab origin. He wanted to prove to me that the German and the Arabic languages were the same. Perchance he knew that an egg is called in German 'Ei.' Now in order to prove his opinion he gave me this example that 'Ei' in Arabic language is a word for the pain one feels; and a hen at the time of laying an egg feels pain. For this reason, in the German language this is an adopted Arabic word for an egg."

THE AGE OF ZARATHUSTRA

The subject of my lecture to-day is the Age of Zarathustra, founder of the Iranian religion, the great spiritual leader and priest. When we will be able to fix the age of Zarathustra, we shall be able to indicate the beginning of the Iranian culture. It is in the fitness of things that Reverend Father Heras, who belongs to a priestly and spiritual Order and further more is a good historian, should preside to-day. When I was a student in Beyrouth twenty-four years ago I came into contact with the Jesuit Fathers, and since then I have been an admirer of the great devotion and sacrifice these learned people have given for centuries to the cause of culture. I have seen with my own eyes how advancement in learning was made in Syria, through the efforts of this devoted Order, and probably Syria is the most advanced in learning in the whole orient. You all know very well how the learned members of this Order have rendered service to India in the field of education and scholarship. I had the pleasure of meeting Reverend Father Heras at Baroda at the Seventh Oriental Conference and there I came to know that he hailed from Spain. I will take this opportunity to bring to your notice what Sir Percy Sykes has written in his 'History of Persia' about the resemblance of Persia to Spain¹:

"In many ways Persia resembles Spain to a remarkable degree. The traveller from the north no sooner quits France than he rises through the Pyrenees on to a plateau of an average height of between two and three thousand feet, where the jagged ranges are aptly termed Sierras or 'Saws,' and where the country is generally bare

1 See Sir Percy Sykes' 'History of Persia,' 1930, pp. 7-8.

and treeless. Traversing this great plateau for some four hundred miles, he crosses the 'hot country' of Andalusia, which corresponds to the low-lying coast district of Persia, before the sea is reached. Again to the north, as if to complete the analogy, the provinces bordering on the Biscayan Sea differ from the Spain of the plateau as the Caspian provinces do from the rest of Persia. Moreover, although Persians are termed the French of the East, it would be more apt to compare them with the Spaniards, whose customs and whole manner of life are akin to the Persian."

There is a great difference of opinion amongst the Greek and Roman classical writers and the later Iranian traditional books, as regards the age of the holy Spitama Zarathustra. According to the traditional date, which has come to us through Pahlavi books, Zarathustra lived in the second half of the seventh century and the beginning of the sixth century before Christ. But the classical Greek and Roman writers have assigned a very remote date to the founder of the Iranian religion.

Whilst commencing with our observations, let us note that the old historians mention the date of Zarathustra in the course of their discourses on the religion of the Magi. We do not propose to speak here about all that has been written by these writers on the Magi; we will restrict ourselves only to what they have written as regards the age of Zarathustra. In order, however, to make matters clear, I will speak here in brief about the Magi, reserving the details to some other occasion.

از آن بدور مغامم عنیز میدارند
حافظ که نمیرد همیشه در دل ماست

"For this reason the people in the tavern of
the Magi love me, because an indestructible fire
is eternally in my heart."

HAFEZ

According to the classical writers, the 'Magos' or 'Magoi' was the priest of the Zoroastrian religion. This word became 'Magi' in all the European languages. Some of these authoritative writers distinguish between the Iranian and the Chaldaean Magi. The Iranian Magi had the knowledge of the philosophy and the religious teachings of Zarathustra, whilst the Chaldaean Magi knew sorcery, witchcraft and amulets besides religion. We know that sorcery and witchcraft are severely condemned in the Avesta.

As the Chaldaeans, too, have been called the 'Magi,' some orientalists think the word must originally have been Assyrian and Babylonian. But there is no doubt today that this word is of Iranian origin and it passed from Iran to the Assyrian and the Babylonian soils. We must remember that Babylon was conquered by the Achæmenian king Cyrus the Great, in 539 B. C. From this time the Zoroastrian religion penetrated into this country and extended to the eastern countries. It does not, therefore, seem strange that the foreign writers called the Zoroastrian as well as the Chaldaean priests by this name. These foreign writers confounded these two distinct groups of priests with each other. We find the word 'moghu' (ሙ^{ଙ୍କ}ୟ) once in the Avesta, in the compound word 'Moghu-tbish'. Other words derived from the same root are often found in the Gâthâs. Amongst these the word 'maga' (ମାଗା) occurs in Yasna 29, 11; 46, 14; 51, 11 and 16; 53, 7. The European commentators of the Avesta have assigned different meanings to this word. If we equate this word with the Sanskrit 'magha' (ମାଗ୍ଧ), which means "wealth," "reward," "gift," it will be nearer its real meaning.

The function of the Iranian Magi was to perform religious ceremonies. Ammianus Marcellinus, the Roman

historian of the fourth century after Christ, speaks at length about the Persian Magi. From the time of Zarathustra till then the Magi were the servants of the religion.

In Plato's 'Alcibiades' it is said that the crown prince was instructed by the Magi.

Cicero, the famous Roman orator, who lived in the first century before Christ (106-43 B.C.), wrote: "By the Iranians the Magi were considered wise and learned people. Nobody was able to ascend to kingship before acquiring the Magian doctrine."

Jurisdiction and justice also were in the hands of the Magi. In a Chinese book of history, written in 572 A.C., called 'Wei-shu,' "the history of the dynasty of Wei," whilst speaking of the events which happened between 386 to 535 A.C., mention is made, in Chapter 102, of the 'Possi,' i.e., the Persians of the Sasanian times. Amongst them the writer refers to the 'Mo-hu,' which is the Chinese for 'Mogu.' These Magi were great officials holding jurisdiction and justice in their hands.

In our own records these functions are assigned to them. The Shâh-nâma often assigns to the mubads or the Magi the functions of writing, predicting, astronomy, admonition and the interpretation of dreams. They used to be the counsellors of kings.

We come across the word 'magu' in the inscriptions of Darius the Great. Gaumâta who assumed the name of Bardiya (Smerdis), brother of Kambujiya (Cambyses), son of Kuru (Cyrus), and usurping the throne of the Achæmenians proclaimed himself king, was a 'magu.'

We find the word 'Rab-mag' in one of the books of the holy Bible, Jeremiah, Ch. 39, 3, in the description of the army of Nebuchadnezzar (606-561 B.C.) marching against Jerusalem. Amongst the nobles, courtiers and

generals, 'Rab-mag,' "the chief of the Magi", had also accompanied the Babylonian king. St. Matthew, Ch. 2, has preserved the story of the three "wise men from the east" or the three kings who, having seen his star in the east, had come to Jerusalem to worship Jesus and were directed to Bethlehem. The word rendered 'wise men' is originally 'magi' or 'magians' (*μάγοι*), a title which first belonged to the priests, who were also the learned men of Persia.

In the Qurân (Sûrat-ul-Haja, 17), the word 'majûs' is used only once. This word came from the Aramaic into the Arabic language in this form. It is commonly used in Arabic for all the Zoroastrians. The Avestan 'moghu', the Old Persian 'magu', Pahlavi *maguy* and Persian 'mogh', 'mobad' is the name given to the Zoroastrian priests, from the oldest time till to-day.

Herodotus has made of these Magi one separate tribe, but it does not seem to be correct. He also speaks of five more Iranian tribes along with that of the Magi, none of which can be identified to-day. We know that amongst the Zoroastrians from the oldest time till to-day priesthood ranks as a separate hereditary class. Consequently, the old Magi just like the present, were descended from one particular family amongst whom priestcraft had come down from generation to generation. It is well known that the Jews had the same system and all their priests were chosen from the family of the Levites, which according to tradition arose from Aaron, brother of Moses, the prophet of the Israelites. All the classical writers unanimously declare Zarathustra to have been the founder of the teachings of the Magi, in other words, he introduced the Mazdean religion. According to the Greek philosopher Porphyrius (233-304 A.C.), 'Magos,' in the original language, was

one who knew theology and praised God. Another Greek philosopher Dio Chrysostomus, who flourished in the first century A.C., has said that the Magi were distinguished for their truthfulness and were recognised as worthy of offering praise to God and of performing ceremonies in His name; but the common people, in their ignorance, gave this name to the sorcerers. He has further stated that after Zarathustra had conferred with the Godhead on the mountain of flame and obtained His interview, he did not meet all the people, but only mixed with those in whose nature there was the love of truth, who were sensible and could properly understand the Godhead. Such people were named the Magi. Before Dio Chrysostomus, Nikolaus of Damascus, who lived in the last century before Christ and was a contemporary of Herod the Great, had said that Cyrus, founder of the Achæmenian dynasty, was instructed by the Magi in Justice and Truth.

Plato, the Greek philosopher of great renown, (428-348 B.C.), and many other great men of the past who have made mention of Zarathustra, have considered him to have been the author of the Magian philosophy and the first Magian. Other writers have believed the Magi to have been the followers of Zarathustra. All the statements of the classical writers relating to the Magi are very interesting and important for the history of other religions. It is easy to understand to what extent the Greek philosophers were familiar with this philosophy of the religion of Zarathustra, from the fame and influence it had in the past, and how far it had influenced the Jewish and Christian religions later on. As I do not intend, to-day, to speak at length on the Magi, I will stop here, after noting that the whole Neo-Platonic philosophy had been influenced by the so-called Magian teachings.

After giving this brief account of the Magi, I will pass on to the writers who have treated the question of the age of Zarathustra. I will begin with the oldest writers and then take up the later ones, whose informations are based on the writings of their predecessors.

XANTHUS

Xanthus (465-425 B. C.), the oldest Greek historian, had mentioned the name of Zarathustra and indicated his age. Besides belonging to the age of antiquity, he was from Asia Minor, and therefore, his reports are worthy of credence. He was from Sardis, the capital of Lydia, which the Persian king, Cyrus the Great, conquered in the year 547 or 546 B.C. Xanthus was living in the fifth century before Christ, flourished a little before Herodotus and was a contemporary of Xerxes (485-464 B.C.), the fourth king of the Achæmenian dynasty. In his time, Lydia was under the domination of the Achæmenian kings and was a settlement of the Iranian emigrants. Strabo and Pausanias, the Greek geographers of the last century before and the second century after Christ, were both of Asia Minor and have spoken about the Fire-temples of that place and its neighbourhood. Xanthus must have been well acquainted with the Magi and must have heard from them the traditions and teachings of Zarathustra. As he had travelled much, particularly in Asia Minor upto the lake Urumia, in the north-western Iran, he must have known the facts of history. We can, therefore, rely on the history to be found in the remaining fragments of his work. No doubt, the history of his own country and the reports about the Magi were very precious ; unfortunately they are lost to-day. It seems that Herodotus had prepared from Xanthus that part of his history relating to the religion of Iran. Another Greek historian, Nikolaus of Damascus,

who flourished in the last century before Christ, had inserted, in his history of the world, some reports belonging to the religion of Irân from Xanthus. So also, the Greek writer, Diogenes Laertius, (150 A.C.), had taken the following report from Xanthus: "Zarathustra lived 600 years before the expedition of Xerxes to Greece." As we know, the army of Xerxes gathered in Sardis and marched on Greece in the spring of the year 480 B.C. Consequently, Xanthus has indicated the age of Zarathustra to have been 1080 B.C.

It should be noted here that in the best manuscript of Diogenes Laertius, the figure of years is 600. We find the figure 6000, only in two other manuscripts of lesser value. Besides, there are other historical documents, which prove that the figure 600 is correct. The criticisms made on the two manuscripts mentioned above prove that the figure 6000 is without foundation. If the figure 6000 of these two manuscript writers be correct, we can be sure that they gave it in order to be in agreement with the other Greek writers, whom we will refer to later on.

CTESIAS

Next to Xanthus, it is Ctesias who speaks of Zarathustra. Ctesias was the physician of Artaxerxes II (405-362 B.C.) and lived in the Iranian court for seventeen years (416-399 B.C.). His history of the events of this period and the past is very interesting, because, as he himself says, his sources of information were the official documents in the royal archives of Irân. His books were popular till the twelfth century A.C. and are lost like many other Greek documents. Before they were lost, Photius, the patriarch of Constantinople (857-867 and 871-886 A.C.) and a learned man of his time had taken notes from these books and they are existing to-day.

He had a good habit of taking down summaries of the books which he read. Amongst these summaries, there is one of Ctesias's 'Persica.' He writes :— "The work of Ctesias of Cnidus is in twenty-three books. The first six books record the history of Assyria and of old Irân. In books 7, 8, (9), 10, 11, 12 and 13 he speaks of Cyrus, Cambyses, the Magian Gaumata, Darius and Xerxes. Almost all his statements contradict the writings of Herodotus. In many places, he has called Herodotus a liar and a tale-teller. He had seen with his own eyes all that he wrote and when it was not possible, he had heard directly from the Iranians. Thus he had written his history from such sources. He has not only contradicted Herodotus, he has often differed from Xenophon, son of Gryllus. He lived in the time of Cyrus, son of Darius II, and Parysatis and his brother Artaxerxes II, who had come to the throne of Irân."

Diodorus Seculus has also cited from the writings of Ctesias and said :—"Ctesias was from the city of Cnidus. At the time of the expedition of Cyrus the junior against his brother Artaxerxes II, he was a prisoner in the hands of the Iranians. As he was a physician, he gave his services to the king and received bounty from him for seventeen years. He himself says that the contents of his books are taken from the royal parchments. All the customs and events from the oldest times, are collected in these royal parchments. From such sources, he had gathered information for his history, which was written in Greek."

As we know, 13,000 Greek mercenary soldiers were employed in the army of Cyrus the junior at the time of his expedition against Artaxerxes II, in 401 B.C., to capture the throne of Irân. According to Diodorus, Ctesias must have been one of these Greek soldiers, who were afterwards taken prisoners by the Iranians.

We learn of Ctesias's sojourn for seventeen years in the court of Irân from Diodorus; but looking to the 'Persica', his sojourn must have lasted at least from 401-398 B.C.

Diodorus, citing Ctesias, says that Zarathustra was the king of Bactria and an adversary and contemporary of Ninus, king of Assyria, and his wife Semiramis. After conquering Babylon and Armenia, Ninus desired to conquer Media. King Pharons of Media came up with a huge army against his adversary. Within a short time his army was scattered, he himself, his wife and seven children were taken as captives, and at the order of Ninus, king of Assyria, the Median king was hanged on the gallows. This victory made Ninus ambitious to conquer the whole world, from the river Don to the river Nile. He appointed one of his friends governor of Media and he himself went to conquer other countries. He gradually conquered the whole of Asia, except India and Bactria, in seventeen years. Egypt, Syria, Phoenicia and all the countries of Asia Minor came under his sway. He defeated the people of Gilân and Tabristân, the settlers on the shore of the Caspian Sea, the Parthians, the Georgians, the Chorasmians, the Kermanis and the Sistânis. Pars and Susa too came under his suzerainty. The dominion of Assyria extended upto the pass of the Caucasus. Many other tribes were desolated. The efforts of Ninus to conquer Bactria were not crowned with success. The difficult roads of this country and its brave, hardy soldiers disappointed him and he had to retreat from this action for a while, and he diverted his army to Syria. Having found a suitable place here, he founded a large city named Niniveh. After it was completed, he again directed his attention to Bactria, and gathered a huge army from all the countries under his sway. From his past experience of the rough roads and brave Iranian soldiers he collected a gigantic army this time, consisting of 1,700,000 foot-soldiers, 210,000

horsemen and 10,600 armed-cars, and advanced towards Bactria. Of the large towns of Bactria, Balkh, the capital city, was specially famous for its greatness and fortifications. Oxyartes, king of Bactria, called all the young men of his country, collected 400,000 fighters and obstructed the advance of the enemy's army. After a severe fight the Assyrians took to flight and the Bactrians followed them and killed 100,000, but, as they could not offer any further resistance against the huge Assyrian army, they retreated with the thought of protecting their houses and families. The country of Bactria gradually fell into the hands of the Assyrians, but its capital gave great resistance, owing to its strong fortifications, towers and weapons of war. The Assyrians laid siege to the city. During the long protracted siege a man desired to see his wife and sent a messenger to her. This heroic, fair and intelligent woman was named Semiramis. For her journey from Assyria to Bactria, she prepared and put on a dress whereby no one could detect her sex. This dress protected her from the sun, and was so comfortable and attractive that first the Medians adopted it at the time of conquering Asia and thereafter the Iranians. When Semiramis came to Balkh, she examined the situation of the siege and found out on what side the fortifications were vulnerable and where the defence of the soldiers was weak. She came up with her soldiers to the weak side of the city and gave them a signal for assault. The guards of the fort were taken by surprise and overcome and the city fell in the hands of the Assyrians. Ninus eulogized the bravery and skill of Semiramis and gave her precious presents. She was so good-looking that he fell in love with her, asked her husband Memones to give her away to him, promising to give him his daughter Losane to wife. The husband did not agree to this. The king threatened to take out his eyes, if

he did not yield to his wishes. The helpless husband hanged himself owing to fear and grief and Ninus married Semiramis. The rich treasures belonging to the royal house of Balkh came into the hands of Ninus. Semiramis bore a son, who was named Ninyas. After a short time Ninus died and as his son was young, the queen Semiramis came to the throne.

It is possible that Ctesias must have heard in Iran this episode of Ninus and Semiramis, as narrated by him. This episode, though originally Semitic, still reminds us of the war stories of the Shâh-nâma. As we have seen, as Diodorus had taken his information from Ctesias, he mentioned Oxyartes as the king of Balkh. But there is no doubt that this king was named Zoroaster in the book of Ctesias ; because, in the books of a group of historians who have depended on Ctesias, this king is named Zoroaster and not Oxyartes. The Greek historian Kephalion, who flourished in the first half of the second century after Christ, has expressly stated that Ctesias was his source of information and according to him the name of the king was Zoroaster. Bishop Eusebius, born about 264 A.C., in Kaesariya in Palestine and died in 340 A.C., has copied Kephalion's statement in his book which is preserved to-day. The same statement is recorded by Georgios Synkellos (775-800 A.C.). The Roman historian Justinus (12 A.C.), has spoken at length about the Assyrian king Ninus, his wife Semiramis and his son Ninyas. According to him, Ninus, after the subjugation of Asia, had his last war with Zoroaster, the king of Balkh. It is said that Zoroaster had introduced the Magian faith and discoursed on the origins of the Universe and the movements of the stars. Zoroaster was killed in this war and Ninus also died after him. All the writers who have described the story of Ninus and of his expedition to

Balkh, have mentioned Zoroaster as his adversary. Amongst these were the Greek rhetorician, Theon, who lived in 125 A.C., Arnobius, the Roman rhetorician (295 A.C.), Augustinus, the Roman priest (born 30th November 345 and died 28th August 430 A.C.), the Armenian historian, Moses Xorone'i (407-492 A.C.), the Spanish writer, Orosius, who wrote about 417 A.C., the Spanish bishop, Isidorus (about 560-636 A.C.) and others. According to all these writers, whose source is Ctesias, there is no doubt, that Ctesias had given the name Zoroaster to the king of Balkh. Some orientalists have held that this Zoroaster is not the same as the prophet Zarathustra, as he is called the king of Balkh. But there is no doubt that in the mind of Ctesias and all the other writers mentioned above this king Zoroaster was the same as the prophet Zarathustra. Of these historians, some have taken Ninus and others have taken Semiramis as the adversary of Zarathustra. Of these Eusebius and Georgios specially mention Zarathustra as a Magian and the king of Balkh. Orosius, like Justinus, has written that Ninus had conquered Balkh and killed the Magian Zarathustra in the war. Moses Xorone'i has also recognised this Zoroaster as a Magian and says : " When Semiramis passed the summer time in Armenia, she appointed Zoroaster, the Magian prince of Media, as governor of Assyria and Niniveh ; afterwards they became inimical to each other. Semiramis, being afraid of Zoroaster, took to flight. Ninyas captured his mother in Armenia, killed her and usurped the crown and the throne of Assyria."

Contrary to other writers, Diodorus has inserted the name of Oxyartes in place of Zoroaster. It is a mistake which it was not difficult to commit. In some manuscripts, the name is written 'Exaortes'. In two manuscripts we find 'Zaortes'. This last name is very near the name

of the prophet of Irân, whom the Greek writers have ordinarily named 'Zoroastres'. The name 'Oxyartes' is repeatedly found in the book of Diodorus, in other places and in other contexts. This is one of the famous Iranian names. We often come across personages of this name in history, specially in the history of Balkh.

'Oxyartes' or 'Oxathres' is the Greek form of the Avestan and Old Persian 'Hu-khshathra' = "good ruler". In the Achæmenian period, there were many renowned persons of this name. Amongst them are, the son of Darius II, the brother of Darius III, a general of Darius III, and others. The Iranian lady whom Alexander married after his conquest of Balkh, was named by the Greeks Roxane, daughter of Oxyartes. Roxane is the Greek form of the Avestan روشن, 'Raokhshna' = Persian روشن = 'Rosan', meaning "light." It is not at all strange, therefore, that in the book of Diodorus, in the history relating to Bactria, 'Oxyartes' is written instead of 'Zoroaster.' Surely, this name was taken from the history of Alexander, long after the time of Ctesias.

According to Ctesias, Zarathustra must have lived in the second half of the thirteenth century before Christ. The capture of Balkh at the hands of Ninus took place 1200 B.C. Ctesias has not fixed upon, for the age of Zarathustra, any time that we cannot accept. His date differs only by one hundred years from that given by Xanthus, and these two statements involuntarily draw our attention to the same period for the age of the prophet. This information of Ctesias, full of minute descriptions, is worthy of consideration. If Ninus, the legendary king of Assyria, was the same as Nimrod, the contemporary of Abraham, then we are forced to go to other legends farther away from real history.

In his list of Assyrian kings, Al-Biruni mentions Ninus and says that he ruled sixty-two years, built the city of Niniveh and that in the forty-third year of his reign Abraham was born. Eusebius, whom we have quoted above, has said that Ninus had ruled for fifty-two years. Semiramis, wife of Ninus, is called Asm'aram by Al-Biruni. She was the founder of the town Samereh and reigned forty-two years. Ninyas, son of Ninus, is named Zàmis by Al-Biruni. He ruled for thirty-eight years. On account of Ninyas' fury and anger, Abraham went to Palestine from Babylon. According to Al-Biruni, Abraham fled to Palestine when he was seventy-two years old. The same age is mentioned in the Old Testament too. In the list of Al-Biruni mentioned above, Ninus is, no doubt, the same as Nimrod who, as stated in the Old Testament, is the contemporary of Abraham. As this episode of Nimrod and Abraham is mentioned in detail in all the books of history, we need not discuss this subject at length. Clement, who wrote between 350 to 400 A.C., has said that Nimrod was the same person whom the Greeks have named Ninus.

According to the Old Testament, Abraham, the contemporary of Nimrod, must have flourished 1900 B.C. According to Ctesias, however, Ninus, the contemporary of Zarathustra, lived 1200 B.C. Orosius, above referred to, has fixed the time of Ninus 1300 years before the foundation of the city of Rome. According to popular tradition, the city of Rome was founded in 753 or 750 B.C. Consequently, Ninus must have lived 2053 B.C.

Secondly, Semiramis, the contemporary of Zarathustra, was more famous in Babylonian history than her husband Ninus. We do not come across a woman of this name in Babylonian and Assyrian history except

Sammuramat who lived long after Ninus. According to one class of scholars, the same Sammuramat is the lady who received legendary fame and was taken to be the wife of Ninus and described as a mighty and world-conquering queen. Sammuramat was really the wife of the Assyrian king Rammanirari III who ruled from 811 to 783 B.C. This lady must certainly have occupied a high position in the political affairs of her country as her name has been mentioned with particular importance together with that of her husband in an inscription. In any case, the story of Ninus and his wife Semiramis or the tale of Nimrod and his contemporary Abraham, wherever they are found, are not such as to enable us to obtain actual facts of history and draw any conclusion fixing the age of Zarathustra who, according to Ctesias, was the adversary of Ninus. Furthermore, all the events of history which have come down to us from Ctesias are written in the way of miracles. This physician who, as he has said, was a confidant of the king of Iran and had held high political position as an emissary, is not known for truthfulness. Most of his statements are known to be incorrect and far from the truth. Although he has repeatedly called Herodotus and Xenophon liars, we do not know how far he himself was truthful and correct, whether he has faithfully copied the Iranian royal parchments. Ctesias has given special importance to the events of the royal court of Iran and to the intrigues of the ladies of the family of Artaxerxes II. We must take these statements with caution and attach little historical value to them. In spite of all this it is to be regretted that the books of Ctesias are lost and only a few fragments are extant in the books of later writers. As he had lived in Iran for a period especially in the court, it can be said that he had heard a part of the old traditions and made notes of

them. His statements relating to Zarathustra are worthy of attention for several reasons. Firstly, as we have said, he has not assigned to Zarathustra an age which we cannot accept. Secondly, he has considered Zarathustra to have belonged to Balkh. In the Zoroastrian tradition this part of Irân, *i.e.*, the East, is considered to have been the native place of Zarathustra; whilst according to another tradition, the West, *i.e.*, Āzarbâijân, is the native land of the prophet. Thirdly, he has declared the existence of a kingdom in Balkh, which is not at all against the facts of history. There is no doubt that before the establishment of the Median kingdom in the West of Irân, there existed a kingdom of more or less importance in the East. The Gâthâs, the holy hymns of the prophet Zarathustra, prove the existence of such a kingdom in the East. It is also well-known in the traditions that Zarathustra had taken refuge in the court of Gustâsp, king of Balkh, and had preached his religion to him. In the very Gâthâ hymns the prophet has called him his friend and supporter. Fourthly, from the statement of Ctesias, it comes out that in the beginning of the fourth century before Christ when he wrote his work, the tradition as to Zarathustra having flourished seven centuries before Christ had not come into being. Lastly, the writers who have copied from Ctesias, have mentioned the death of Zarathustra in the battle of Ninus in Balkh. This reminds us of another old Iranian tradition about the martyrdom of Zarathustra in Balkh, in the war of the Turanian king Arjâsp against Kaê Gustâsp.

PLATO

Next to Ctesias, the disciples of Plato are the oldest writers who have mentioned the age of Zarathustra. Plato, the renowned philosopher of Greece, (427-347 B.C.),

had known Zarathustra to have been the founder of the Magian faith. This faith, according to his opinion, was the best way of praising the Creator and contained high thinking. Many views of Plato's philosophy are in accord with the teachings of the Zoroastrian religion. It is clearly evident that this Greek philosopher was well-versed in the Mazdayasnân philosophy. In the notes and comments which are written in 'Alkibiades,' a book supposed to have been written by Plato, Zarathustra is supposed to have flourished 6000 years before the death of Plato. In all the statements which have come down to us from the disciples of Plato, the age of Zarathustra is assigned to an epoch which historical criticism cannot reach. These disciples of Plato are: 1) Aristotle, the famous Greek philosopher of Macedonia and friend and preceptor of Alexander the Great (384-322 B.C.), 2) Eudoxus of Cnidus, of the same city as Ctesias and 3) Hermodoros, contemporary of the two mentioned above.

The statements of these philosophers are preserved in the books of other writers. We will consider Pliny at the top of all. Pliny the Roman, called Pliny the Elder by way of distinction, was born in 23 B.C. and perished in 79 A.C. at the time of the volcanic eruption of Mount Vesuvius. His great work, 'Naturalis Historia,' consisting of thirty-seven parts, is extant to-day. This encyclopædic work treats of geography, ethnology, anthropology, zoology, botany, medicines of all kinds extracted from herbs and animals, mineralogy, etc. Irân is often mentioned therein. In the twenty-ninth part of this book there are references to medicines extracted from herbs and animals and some of these are attributed to the Magi. In this connection, Pliny speaks of the Magi and Zarathustra, the founder of their faith, in the thirtieth part of his book. In his writings, Pliny distinguishes between the Iranian Magi, the fol-

lowers of the tenets of Zarathustra, and the Chaldaean Magi, bearing the same name, noted for sorcery and witchcraft, and says that Eudoxus and Aristotle had thought that Zarathustra, the founder of the Magian faith, which is the noblest and the most beneficial of philosophies, lived 6000 years before the death of Plato. He further says that according to Hermippus, Zarathustra lived 5000 years before the Trojan war. Looking to these two reports, Pliny adds that Moses lived some thousands of years after Zarathustra. At the end of this argument, Pliny refers to a Magian named Ostanes, who was with Xerxes at the time of his expedition to Greece, and states that another person named Zarathustra was living a little before Ostanes. Pliny does not mention his authority for this last statement. In view of the fact that Xerxes' expedition to Greece was led in 480 B.C. and the traditional date of the martyrdom of Zarathustra is 583 B.C., there being thus an interval of 103 years between these two events, we can say that there is some connection between the last information of Pliny and the traditional date of Zarathustra. Consequently, the tradition of the Zarathustrians, as regards the age of Zarathustra, was existing in the time of Pliny, *i.e.*, in the first century A.C. The information which Pliny has taken from Hermippus that Zarathustra lived 5000 years before the Trojan war, must have been borrowed from older sources, from Hermodorus, the third disciple of Plato. Hermippus was one of the greatest philosophers of Greece and an inhabitant of the city of Smyrna. He lived in 250 B.C. and had a book on the Magi, which is unfortunately missing. Aristotle and Eudoxus were his authorities. His information relating to the age of Zarathustra must have been taken from Hermodorus who lived in the fourth century before Christ, because Diogenes Laertius who lived in 210 A.C. and whom we have referred to above, has borrowed the information.

from the same Hermodorus and declared that Zarathustra lived 5000 years before the Trojan war. The Greek historian and writer, Plutarch (46-125 A.C.) too, has expressed the same opinion.

If Zarathustra lived 6000 years before the death of Plato, the age of Zarathustra comes to be somewhere near 6347 B.C.; if he lived 5000 years before the Trojan war, the date of Zarathustra must be somewhere near 6184 B.C., as it is generally known that the fall of Troy at the hands of the Greeks took place in 1184 B.C. We observe that the difference between these two dates is 163 years only. This difference is not much, looking to these extraordinary dates, and we can say that the source of these two informations was the same. It is evident that the statements of these philosophers, relating to the age of Zarathustra, have little historical value. It is certain that there existed no documentary evidence, giving such a remote age, which the writers had access to. They only knew this much that Zarathustra lived in a very old epoch, and the death of their teacher Plato took place 6000 years after Zarathustra. They did not pay any attention to the facts having a real historical basis.

Although they are great and learned philosophers and the informations which are transcribed by later Greek and Roman writers from their works prove their sound knowledge of the Mazdayasnân tenets, we cannot come to any other conclusion but this from their statements relating to the age of the founder of this religion that the authentic date was not existing in their time and in the fourth century before Christ the date of the age of the prophet was much further back than 700 B.C., the later traditional date of Zarathustra.

However, it is possible that these Greek philosophers

had not invented this very remote date of Zarathustra but as Prof. Williams Jackson says: "Such extraordinary figures, however, are presumably due to the Greeks having misunderstood the statements of the Persians, who place Zoroaster's millennium amid a great world-period of 12,000 years, which they divided into cycles of 3000 years, and in accordance with which belief Zoroaster's Fravashi, guardian spirit, had in fact existed several thousands of years." ('Zoroaster,' p. 152.)

BEROSUS

Next in order to the writings of the disciples of Plato, are the statements which the classical writers have taken from Berossus, wherein Zarathustra and his age are mentioned. Berossus, the well-known high-priest and historian of Babylon, lived in the third century before Christ. His Babylonian and Assyrian histories, which the classical writers have named 'Chaldaika' or 'Babyloniaka', were written in the reign of Antiochus Soter (280-261 B.C.). As Berossus was the high-priest of the Temple of Bel, the great God of Babylon, he had access to the library of the Temple and had very old documents in his hands. Unfortunately this book is lost and only a few fragments of it are preserved in the works of later writers. Alexander Polyhistor is one of those writers who had drawn their information from Berossus. He lived in the first century before Christ. He was a Greek from the town of Milet in Asia Minor. Some fragments of Alexander Polyhistor have survived in the works of other writers. One of these is Eusebius, the renowned bishop of Palestine (260-340 A.C.). Another is Georgius Syncellus (about 775-800 A.C.).

According to Eusebius: Berossus, in his book, speaks of the beginning of creation and says that there first / lived only animals on earth. Then he narrates the story

of kings. Alâros was the first king of the earth, who ruled 4,32,000 years. After him ten other kings ruled for 4,32,000 years. In the reign of the last of these kings, named Xisthrus, a deluge took place. The great God, Bel, annihilated the world. As Xisthrus was a pious king, before the deluge, he received the commandment from the heavens as to how he should construct an arch and save himself, his wife and children, relatives and animals from this disaster. The deluge of Xisthrus with all its details reminds us of the Deluge of Noah which is recorded in the Old Testament. According to the story which will be just referred to, the deluge of Xisthrus took place 35,371 years before Christ. According to the Old Testament, the Deluge of Noah took place 2500 B.C. Alâros of the Babylonian legend is in the position of Hosang, the Pêsdâdian king of Irân, who was the first king, or in the position of Kayômars, who is called the first king in the Shâh-nâma. After mentioning this deluge and the renewal of prosperity in the world, Berosus passes on from the mythical period to the historical and gives the history of his fatherland. After the deluge of Xisthrus, he mentions eighty-six kings with their names, who ruled for 33,091 years in Babylon. The Medians then conquered Babylon and eight Median kings, whose names are mentioned, ruled in Babylon for 224 years. After them forty-nine Chaldæan kings became rulers and their rule lasted 458 years.

Georgius Syncellus, whose statements are based on the writings of Alexander Polyhistor, writes that the founder of this Median dynasty which conquered Babylon and ruled there was Zoroaster. I mention this Zarathustra, because he is called the founder of the Median dynasty which ruled in Babylon.

This information agrees with the historical events. In about 2300 B.C., the Elamites had crossed the moun-

tains of Media and Elam or Susa and the modern Khuzistān, and conquered Babylon. They ruled this land for a long time. From the sculptures and inscriptions of Asurbanipal, king of Assyria (668-626 B.C.), there remains no doubt that the reports of Berosus are based on historical facts. As the Elamite king Kudur Nakhundi or Kudur Nankhundi of Khuzistān (about 2300 B.C.) had conquered Babylon and among the spoils of war he had taken the statue of the goddess Nanâ, from the temple of Eana, situated in the well-known city of Uruk, the ruins of which are called Varka to-day, and brought it to Susa. Asurbanipal, in his inscriptions, says that he had brought back to Uruk the statue of Nanâ which was taken away 1635 years before him to Susa. It is known in history that Asurbanipal had led an expedition to Susa in 645 B.C., vanquished and killed Teumman, king of Susa, and plundered and ruined the country. The old kingdom of this land thus came to an end. This date—1635 years before the fall of Susa at the hands of the Assyrian king Asurbanipal,—corresponds to 2280 B.C. Consequently, Zoroaster, who, according to Berosus, was the founder of the Median, *i.e.*, the Elamite, dynasty, must have lived in 2300 B.C. The names of five kings of this dynasty—according to Berosus there were in all eight kings—have been preserved in the Assyrian inscriptions and in the Old Testament.

We need not be surprised that Berosus or those who copied his work have considered Zarathustra to be the founder of the Elamite dynasty in Babylon, just as Ctesias had considered him to be the king of Balkh; because, whilst thinking of such an important event as the conquest of Babylon by the Elamites, or according to Berosus, by the Medians, the most famous man of Media came to their mind. They could not have known any man more distinguished than Zarathustra at that

time. Berossus thought the Medians, and not the Elamites, to have been the conquerors of Babylon because after the conquest of Susa by Asurbanipal and the loss of its old independence, it came without division, under the name of Ansân, in the possession of the ancestors of the Achæmenian Cyrus the Great and was counted as one of the realms of the Median kings; this celebrated land was no more free and the whole country of Irân was named Media, just as after the down-fall of the Median sovereignty and the coming of the Achæmenians from Pârs into power, the whole country of Irân was called Pârs without any distinction. The same name is applied even to-day in the European languages, as 'Persia'.

In the books of authors who have depended on Berossus, Zarathustra is known as the king of Media, just as Ctesias has called him the king of Balkh. No doubt, in both the statements, Zarathustra, the prophet of Irân, is meant, who, on account of the antiquity of his age, receives different appearances in different periods at the hands of different writers. From these statements, Zarathustra would seem to belong to an age far older than the traditional date and Media would be his native place. In the more reliable traditions, too, supported by historical and philological arguments, Zarathustra's native place was Media, *i.e.*, Irân, particularly Âzarbâijân, and his religion progressed towards the East of Irân, particularly in Bactria and spread from there to other countries.

PYTHAGORAS

Some of the old writers believed that Zarathustra was the contemporary of Pythagoras, and thus the age of Zarathustra is brought down much later than that assigned by those who wrote before Christ. About the

dates of birth and death of Pythagoras opinions differ. He was probably born in 583 B.C. in the island of Samos, and died in the same century. His period of activity coincides with the time of Cyrus, founder of the Achæmenian dynasty (559-530 B.C.), and his son and descendant Cambyses (529-522 B.C.). In the later centuries, wonders and miracles are attributed to this great philosopher and mathematician, who was the greatest of the wise men of Greece. His life and career are mixed up with legends. Just as for many great personages of old, we possess astonishing tales and stories about him. It is generally written that he received his education from the Magi. Some writers have said that he was in Egypt at the time of Cambyses' expedition against Egypt, in the spring of 525 B.C.; there he was taken prisoner and brought to Babylon with the Iranian army, where he lived with the Chaldæans and the Magi for twelve years; he was fifty-six years of age when he returned to Samos. It is certain that he was in Egypt; the reports of Herodotus and Isocrates (436-338 B.C.) prove it; but his journey to Iran is not definitely known. It does not appear strange that a man like Pythagoras, who had so much thirst for knowledge and science and was so curious about religious questions, had gone to Babylon, the centre of oriental learning, and coming into contact with the Magi had acquired a knowledge of the Iranian religion. In view of the fact that the philosophical teachings of Pythagoras are in accord with the teachings of the Zoroastrian religion in many respects, it can be said that this philosopher had learnt the Zoroastrian religion either indirectly from the books or directly from the Magi. Besides Pythagoras, many other Greek philosophers were also considered to be the disciples of the Magi. Pliny the Elder, the wise man of Rome of the first century after Christ, has written that Pythagoras, Democritus, Empedocles and Plato,

had undertaken long journeys in order to learn the Magian religion.

Democritus is the renowned philosopher of Greece who was born between 460 to 470 B.C. Empedocles is the Greek philosopher and physician, who was born in the beginning of the 5th century B.C. On account of the renown which the Zoroastrian religion had in antiquity and the currency of its philosophy among the Greek philosophers, a number of wise men of the country had acquired fame by obtaining a knowledge of the Mazdayasnân teachings.

Cicero, the renowned Roman orator, born on the 3rd January 106 B.C. and died on the 7th December 43 B.C., has described Pythagoras' journey to Egypt and his acquaintance with the Iranian Magi.

Valerius Maximus, who lived in the first century after Christ, has written that Pythagoras had gone to Iran and had acquired the teachings of the Magi. He had learnt from them the movements of the stars and the constellations and their effects on the physical phenomena. In view of the fact that the connection of Pythagoras with the Magi was well known from ancient times, the later writers, in order to add to his glory, have made him the direct disciple of Zarathustra, founder of the Magian faith. Thus Pythagoras is known by a class of writers as a disciple of Zarathustra. Amongst these writers are Plutarch (46-125 A.C.), Apuleius (born in 125 A.C.), Clemens Alexandrinus (died between 211 and 218 A.C.), Hippolytus, the Roman bishop of the third century after Christ, Porphyrius (233-304 A.C.), Kyrillos, (about 376-444 A.C.), the Scholiast on Plato's Republic, and Suidas who lived in the second half of the tenth century after Christ. Amongst these writers Apuleius has written with hesitation: "There are some who say

that Pythagoras acquired learning from the Magi, especially from Zarathustra himself." Porphyrius, the philosopher of the third century after Christ, who was born in Syria and died in Rome, writes, in his book on the History of Philosophy, on the life of Pythagoras: "Pythagoras, before all other things, admonished men to be truthful; because it is possible that man alone can be like God on account of truth; because, just as he had learnt from the Magi, God whom they named Oromazes, has a person like unto Light and a soul like unto Truth." Porphyrius also writes: "Pythagoras was in contact with the Chaldaeans; he also went to Zarathustra, by his grace he absolved himself from the sins of his past life and learnt from him how his followers should conserve their purity. He learnt from him the secrets of Nature and the Eternal cause of creation."

We have said that amongst these writers, Hippolytus too believed that Zarathustra was the master of Pythagoras. This Roman bishop says that Diodorus of Ereteria and Aristoxenus are the sources of his information. We cannot confide in this statement, because Aristoxenus, who lived about 318 before Christ, was a pupil of Aristotle; in the statement relating to the age of Zarathustra, derived from Plato and his disciples, one of whom was Aristotle, we have already said that all of them have mentioned the date of Zarathustra to be 6000 years before the death of Plato. It is, therefore, very strange that Aristotle's pupil, Aristoxenus, should have written that Zarathustra was a contemporary of Pythagoras. It is possible that in consideration of the resemblance between Zarathustra's teachings and Pythagoras' philosophy, he might have said that Pythagoras was conversant with the religion of the Magi and through this he might have declared a spiritual connection

rather than a personal acquaintance betwixt them. Again we do not know whether Hippolytus had obtained his information directly from Aristoxenus or had copied it from Diodorus.

From all this information relating to Pythagoras which has been given above and his being known as a disciple of Zarathustra, it is quite clear that they wanted to augment the dignity of Pythagoras thereby. In the end we must remember that without taking into account the true age of Zarathustra, by calling Pythagoras the contemporary of Zarathustra, they have involuntarily approached the traditional date of Zarathustra which falls in with Pythagoras' time in the sixth century B.C.

AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS

Amongst the classical writers, the statements, as to the age of Zarathustra, of the Roman historian Ammianus, of Greek extraction, are worthy of note. Born in 330 A.C. and still living in 390 A.C., he was in the Roman army at the time of the Emperor Julianus's expedition against the Persian Emperor Sâpûr II, in 363 A.C. He was an eye-witness to the events of this war, which ended in the defeat of Rome, in which Emperor Julianus fell on the 26th of July 363 A.C., wounded by a deadly arrow. His history of Rome, which begins with the events of the year 96 A.C. and ends with those of 378 A.C., is evidently one of the important documents of our history of the Sasanian period. Of this book, which originally contained thirty-one parts, the first thirteen are lost and the rest are extant. In the sixth chapter of the twenty-third part of his book, Ammianus speaks in detail about the Iranian Magi, who, according to him, were descended from a special sect, from generation to generation, from the time of Zarathustra, the founder of the Mazdayasnân faith, and they were ap-

pointed religious leaders. At first their number was small and it increased gradually. They are distinguishable from other classes of people by their manners and usages, and are particularly respected and honoured. In the beginning of this chapter, Ammianus writes that Plato has said that the Magian faith possesses the noblest ideals and is the purest form of worship of the Creator. Then, Ammianus himself adds that the Magian faith is a wisdom which the Bactrian sage, Zarathustra, had enlarged in old times from the secret instructions of the Chaldaeans, and which the wise king Vistasp, father of Darius, followed. According to Ammianus, the prophet of Iran, too, had come to an unknown land from India. There in a quiet and tranquil forest, where the spirit of Brahma prevailed, he received instructions about the rotation of the earth and the movements of the stars. From this statement of Ammianus it is clear that he had heard that Zarathustra had lived in the reign of Vistasp, the king of Bactria. But as he had not come across any other Vistasp in Iranian history, except the father of Darius the great Achæmenian, he had to remain ambiguous and made the father of Darius contemporary of Zarathustra, calling him the promulgator of the Magian faith.

Although the date, which tradition has later assigned to the prophet, approximates to the period of Vistasp, father of Darius the Great, still Kaē Vistasp, friend and protector of Zarathustra, who is one of the Kayanian kings, has no connection whatsoever in the tradition with Darius the Achæmenian. In his statement, Ammianus calls this Vistasp, father of Darius, a king. Since Darius's father was not a king, but only a satrap of Parthia and Georgiana, appointed by his son, he is frequently mentioned in the

Achæmenian inscriptions. In the Behistân inscription Darius says of his father Vistâspa:—"Pârthava and Varkâna became rebellious to me and declared allegiance to Fravarti; my father Vistâspa was in Pârthava; the people abandoned him and became rebellious; afterwards Vistâspa went with his army which was loyal; there is a town Vispauzati by name in Pârthava; here he engaged in battle with the Parthians; Ahura Mazdâ bore me aid; by the grace of Ahura Mazdâ Vistâspa smote that rebellious army utterly; 22 days in the month Viyakhna were completing their course when the battle was fought by them. Afterwards I sent forth the Persian army to Vistâspa from Ragâ; when this army came to Vistâspa, Vistâspa took that army and went away; there is a town Patigrabanâ by name in Pârthava; here he engaged in battle with the rebels; Ahura Mazdâ bore me aid; by the grace of Ahura Mazdâ Vistâspa smote that rebellious army utterly; one day in the month Garmapada was completing its course, when the battle was fought by them."

In this inscription, Darius does not call his father a king, he is only one of the satraps of his realm.

Artaxerxes III (359-338 B.C.), in the inscription at Persepolis, gives the appellation of king to all his ancestors but Vistâspa:—"Says Artaxerxes the great king, king of kings, king of countries, king of this earth: I am the son of Artaxerxes the king; Artaxerxes was the son of Darius the king; Darius was the son of Artaxerxes the king; Artaxerxes was the son of Xerxes the king; Xerxes was the son of Darius the king; Darius was the son of Vistâspa by name; Vistâspa was the son of Arsâma by name, the Achæmenide."

Let us note here in passing that the name of Vistâspa's father is Arsâma, but the name of the father of Kaê

Vistâspa, the prophet's contemporary, is Lohrâsp (= Avestan Aurvat-aspa). There is no doubt that Vistâspa, Darius's father, has no relationship whatsoever with Vistâspa, contemporary of the prophet Zarathustra. In view of the fact that Kâe Vistâspa is considered a great friend of the Zoroastrian religion and a holy man, in all the ages, persons have been given this great name and even to-day it is a name of common persons. The information of Ammianus, without giving any clue to the real age of Zarathustra, reminds us of Balkh, where the religion of Zarathustra progressed.

AGATHIAS

The Greek poet and historian, Agathias, lived about 536-582 A.C. Like Ammianus, he, too, has considered Zarathustra to be a contemporary of Vistâsp, but he did not know who this Vistâsp was. According to him "The Iranians, in old times, had the same religion as the Greeks and like them worshipped Zeus, Kronos and other Greek gods but by other names.....The Iranians of our time have entirely left off their old ideals and changed them. They follow a strange religion, brought by Zarathustra son of Oromasdes. We cannot say with certainty in which age this Zoroaster, also called Zarades, lived and when he introduced his faith. The Iranians to-day only say that he was a contemporary of Vistâsp, but this is very doubtful. We cannot remove this doubt as to whether this Vistâsp is Darius's father or some one else. Whenever he lived, he was certainly the prophet of the Iranians and he established the Magian faith."

SUIDAS

Finally, the writings of Suidas relating to the age of Zarathustra are worthy of note amongst the classical writers. Suidas was a Greek grammarian and philoli-

gist who lived in 970 A.C. His lexicon is extant in which the names of many renowned personages of old are preserved. This book is not free from mistakes, because the writer did not possess the gifts of research and criticism, but it contains a series of statements of the classical writers, for which it is useful. Suidas has copied in his lexicon whatever he had read in the books of the classical writers without discernment or criticism. Relating to the subject in our hands we find in his writings some such statements of the classical writers. Under the word Pythagoras, it is stated that this Greek philosopher was the pupil of Zāretos, i. e., Zarathustra. Under the word Zarathustra, he mentions two persons of that name : one, the sage of Pârs and Media, who lived 5000 years before the Trojan war, and the other, an astronomer who lived in the time of Ninus. Thus we see that we get the same information from Suidas as from the other classical writers, relating to the age of Zarathustra.

ZOROASTRIAN TRADITIONS

In the Zoroastrian traditions, the age of the prophet is placed between the years 660 and 583 B.C. This date has remained preserved in the Pahlavi books which slightly differ from one another. In the beginning of the first chapter of the *Artâ Virâf Nâma* it is said: "The holy Zarathustra promulgated in the world the religion which he had accepted from Ahura Mazdâ. It retained its pristine purity for three hundred years and the people remained steadfast to it. In the end the wicked Angra Mainyu, in order to create doubt amongst the people, instigated the accursed Alexander the Aruman, who was in Egypt, to offer terrible animosity and distress and destroy Irân. He killed the king of Irân and ruined the capital."

Zâtsparam, Dastur of Sîrgân (Southern Persia), about 881 A.C., has stated in his 'Zaratust-nâma,' Ch. XXIII, 12, that a period of 300 years had elapsed from the time of the appearance of the religion till its fall and the destruction of the kingdom of Irân. There is no doubt that by the destruction of the kingdom of Irân, Zâtsparam meant the invasion of Alexander of Macedon in 331 B.C., when the last Achæmenian Emperor Darius III was killed in the month of July or August 330 B.C.

From the statement of the Bundahisn, Ch. XXXIV, 7-8, as regards the period of rule of the Kayanian kings till the death of Alexander (323 B.C.), it is evident that between the time of the appearance of Zarathustra and the death of Alexander, there was an interval of 272 years. Zarathustra, therefore, must have received the revelation in 595 B.C. According to the Bundahisn, Alexander ruled for fourteen years. If we reckon the years from the coming of Zarathustra till the beginning of the reign of Alexander, there is an interval of 252 years between these two events; but according to the Bundahisn reckoning the interval is of 258 years. In the books of the Iranian and Arab historians, the date of Zarathustra is believed to be about the same time. Amongst these Maçoudî, who died about 956 A.C., has written in his book, 'Muruj-adh-dhahab', that in the opinion of the Magians, from the time of their prophet Zarâdust ibn Asbitamân upto Alexander is 258 years. In another place, he has written 280 years. In his book, 'Kitâb-al-Tanbih va al-Asrâf', Maçoudî says: "Zarâdûst, son of Borusasf, in the book of the Avesta which was revealed to him, had predicted that after 300 years, there would appear a great disaster in the country of Irân, when religion would not be finished, but at the end of the millennium the country and religion both would be destroyed." Therefore, the interval between Zarathustra

and Alexander is 300 years; because Zarathustra appeared in the time of Kaê Vistâsp son of Kaê Lohrâsp. Al-Bîrûni (born in Khwarezm on the third day of the month Zi'-l-Hajjat, 326 A.H. = 973 A.C. and died in Ghazna, on the second of Rajab, 440 A.H. = 1048 A.C.), has written that according to the Magians, the interval between Zarâdûst their prophet and the beginning of the rule of Alexander is 258 years.

Zoroastrian tradition mostly believes that the interval between the prophecy of Zarathustra and Alexander's invasion is 300 years. The same figure is found in the 'Olamâ-i Islâm' and in a poem named 'Kîssah-i Sultân Mahmûd Ghaznavî,' composed by Anôsirawân Marzabân Kermâni in 1620 A.C.

Thus, Zarathustra was born in 660 B.C.; he received the revelation when he was thirty years old. He received his martyrdom in Bactria from the murderous hand of a Tturanian, when he had attained to the seventy-seventh year of age. According to the traditions Zarathustra was the contemporary of Kaê Vistâsp son of Kaê Lohrâsp, who was ruling in the East of Irân in Balkh. This last fact is affirmed by Zarathustra himself. The prophet of Irân, in the Gâthâs, the Divine Hymns, composed by himself, mentions this king four times as the friend and protector of his religion, so that there remains no doubt that the Iranians had a kingdom in the East of Irân, in the time of Zarathustra.

Some orientalists consider this Kaê Vistâsp and the great Achæmenian king Darius's father Vistâsp as the same individual, just as we have mentioned while quoting Ammianus. About 1400 years ago, Agathias, of whom we have spoken above, had doubted whether Kaê Vistâsp, contemporary of Zarathustra, was the same as Vistâsp, father of Darius the Great or some other Vistâsp.

To-day we have no doubt that the times of these two persons named Vistâsp are separated from each other by many centuries.

We have seen that the Magi, the followers of the religion of Zarathustra, did exist before Darius the Great, the son of Vistâsp. Further more, how could it be possible for the Greek philosophers of the fourth century before Christ, such as Aristotle, Eudoxus and Hermodorus to write that Zarathustra had lived 6000 years before the death of Plato or 5000 years before the Trojan war, in view of the fact that between them and Vistâsp, father of Darius the Great, who ruled between 521 to 485 B. C., there was only a difference of a little more than a century? Herodotus, who had travelled in Irân in the time of Artaxerxes I (464-425 B.C.), has not named Zarathustra at all, whilst he has spoken in details about the Achæmenian kings upto his own time. If Zarathustra had appeared in the time of Darius or his father Vistâsp, there must have been at least some reference in his writings as regards this important event. This silence of Herodotus is a negative proof to show that in his time the religion of Zarathustra was the old religion of Irân ; it had not come into existence only half a century before him. Among the well-known scholars and orientalists Prof. Jackson and Dr. West, who are in favour of the traditional date, have not pronounced any connection between Kaê Vistâsp, king of Bactria, and the Achæmenian Vistâsp father of Darius the Great. Modern historians and orientalists declare on good authority that the religion of Irân had existed before the establishment of the Median kingdom in the West of Irân in 713 B.C. The traditional date is absolutely without foundation and against philological and historical arguments. I have treated the subject in detail elsewhere, and will not,

therefore, dilate upon it. But I will review in brief what I have already said : the language of the Gâthâs, the holy hymns of the prophet Zarathustra himself, is older than 700 B.C. In the cuneiform inscriptions of Sargon, Assyrian king of the eighth century before Christ, which have survived, we find the names of some of the chiefs of the Iranian tribes which were fighting with him. This is evidence to show that they were Zoroastrians.

In the statements of the Greek and Roman classical writers, the report of Xanthus, whom we have cited in the beginning of this lecture, seems to be worthy of credence; it bears the stamp of history and we can safely say that the appearance of the prophet of Irân was probably in 1080 B.C.

RAGHĀ

In this lecture, I propose to speak of Raghā or Raē which, at present, is a vast ruin near Teheran, standing in its original place, once the largest and most glorious city and province of old.

It is mentioned twice in the Avesta and often in the Achæmenian inscriptions. The Pahlavi commentaries of the Avesta mention two places named Raghā; but this duplication is a mistake resulting from the division of provinces on political grounds. Originally, there was only one famous city named Raghā.

The ruins of Raē to-day occupy an area of one 'farsang', *i. e.*, $5\frac{1}{2}$ kilometres, situated to the south-east of Teheran. The shrine of 'Abd-ul 'Azīm is located in the neighbourhood of these ruins. Raē was one of the greatest and most renowned cities of Irân. We find mention of this ancient city in the Avesta, the Old Testament, the Achæmenian inscriptions, the Greek and Roman classical writers and the Pahlavi literature. This city is described in details specially by the Arab and Iranian writers of the *moyen* age. Raē was considered to be one of the largest cities of Irân, holding rank in importance with Ispahâñ and Nisâpûr. During the times of the 'Abbâsid Khaliphs, Raē was the second best city next to Baghdâdh, and Damascus was at times considered its equal. On account of its antiquity, vastness and beauty, the writers of the *moyen* age, have called it 'Saikh ul-balâd', "Chief-of-the-cities", 'Um ul-balâd', "Mother-of-the-cities", and 'Arûs ul-balâd', "Bride-of-the-cities". On account of its immense commercial activities it was known to be the centre of the world trade. After the conquest of Irân by the Arabs, Raē saw

many vicissitudes. An Arab writer Ibn ul-Karti (368-463 A.H.) says in his book, 'Fi m'arefat-al-Ashâb', that after the death of Nô'amân ibn-ul-Mâkrân, conqueror of Nehâvand, Hudhaifah ibn-ul-Yaman, one of the greatest Ashâbs, *i. e.*, disciples, of the Arab prophet, who was commander of the Arabs, conquered Raê, Hamadân and Dinvar in 22 A.H. (= 643 A.C.). This conqueror of Raê died in 36 A.H. (= 658 A.C.) after the massacre of the Ottoman Khaliph. The calamities and ruin that befell this unfortunate city were so numerous that it was finally razed to the ground in the times of the Mongols. Cholera, plague, earthquake and fanaticism, the most fatal of all diseases, ravaged this city by turns. Ibn-ul-Athîr (555-630 A.H. = 1160-1234 A.C.), in his well-known work, writes as regards the events of 344 A.H.: "In this year (*i. e.*, 344), there was severe cholera in Raê and so many people died that the deaths could not be counted." In 582 A.H., he writes: "A great calamity befell Raê on account of a severe religious feud between the Sias and the Sunnis; a number of people died, a great number migrated and the city and the province of Raê were deserted." The well-known historian Tabari (224-310 A.H.) informs us that at the end of 249 A.H. there was severe earthquake in Raê, all the houses collapsed, and many people died. It is not my intention to give all such references, found in our history; I give only a few examples to illustrate the calamities which befell Raê. The attacks of the Ghuzz, the Turkish hordes, on Raê is well known. Togrul Beg, founder of the Saljuk dynasty, had reconstructed the city and his circular-shaped tomb is a mausoleum worth seeing to-day.

In 617 A.H., the well-known geographer Yâkût under the word 'Raê,' states as follows:—" Flying from the east of Irân, on account of the fury and ravage of the Tartars, I came to Raê. There I saw many ruins, dilapidated houses and fallen walls. There was still to be

seen the remnant of arts, paintings and beauty of this ruined city, as the calamity had befallen just before I came to the place. A trustworthy inhabitant of the place told me that the ruin was due to the great religious feuds of the *Sias* and the *Sunnis*. After the *Sunnis* had got the better of the *Sias*, there arose a dispute between the two sects of the *Sunnis*, the *Sâfaî* and the *Hanafi*, which ultimately led to the total ruin of Raê. Only a small portion of the residential quarters of the *Sâfaî* was saved with its population." Passing on from this tale of woes which befell this great city, the last and the greatest depredation which totally ruined this city for ever came from Changiz and Taimur. Changiz's attack on Irân commenced in 615 A.H. and lasted till his death in 624 A.H. Taimur proclaimed himself king in 771 A.H., began his attacks on Irân in 782 A.H., captured the whole of Irân and the neighbouring countries within fifteen years and died in 807 A.H. Ibn-ul-Athir, describing the events of 618 A.H., says: "As the Tartars following Sâh Muhammad reached Raê from Khwarezm they massacred the men, women and children of the city, plundered, devastated and burnt it, and perpetrated such cruelty as was never experienced before." Again, Ibn-ul-Athir, whilst narrating the events of 621 A.H., writes about Raê: "Those who were saved in the first attack fled and returned after some time; when they were reorganising their city, Changiz suddenly made a second attack, put every inhabitant to the sword and fulfilled the cravings of his heart."

After Changiz came Taimur the Tartar with his furious attacks and the same calamity befell Raê once again as in the time of Changiz. Clavijo, the Spanish minister of the court of Henry III, who had come as an ambassador to the court of Taimur and lived in the court for a long time, gives in his memoirs a description of his visit to Raê in

1404 A.C. He says that this big city was nothing but a scene of debris and ruins.

Of this great and famous city of old times comparatively very little trace is left in the shape of ruins as everything was razed to the ground. In the time of the Turkoman Kâjâr King Aga Muhammad-Sâh (1796 A.C.), Teheran, which was then only a small village, was selected to be the capital of Irân, as it was in the vicinity of the habitation of the Turkoman tribe. Just as when the second 'Abbâsid Khaliph Mansur made Baghîdâdh, then a very small village seven farsangs, *i.e.*, thirty miles from Ctesiphon, the capital of the Arab Empire in 145 A.H. (= 762 A.C.) and turned it into a big city from the materials of the great and famous city of Ctesiphon after devastating it with this specific object in view, so was Teheran built from the materials obtained from Raê, and we find a report of the British ambassadors who had gone there at the end of the eighteenth century that they had seen poor people taking away bricks from the ruined buildings of Raê in order to sell them in Teheran to earn their livelihood, which shows that the city of Teheran was originally built from bricks and materials pilfered from Raê.

It is interesting to note that when the British Embassy visited Raê in the last years of the eighteenth century, they saw a beautiful, unfinished statue of a Sasanian king on horse-back with spear in hand. A part of the crown was unfinished and a platform was erected in front of the statue to locate that of the opponent. As the other statue was never taken in hand, the platform had remained empty. The incomplete statue was probably that of Artâkhsîr Pâpakân and the vacant platform was intended for the statue of the last Arsâcidan king Ardavân, whom Artâkhsîr Pâpakân had defeated in 224 A.C. Some orientalists think that the statue is that of Sâpûr II. On the strength of the

vivid description given by the British Embassy and from the account and sketch of this statue given by Sir William Ouseley in his book of Travels in Persia, it seems to be certain that it is Arṭakhsir Pāpakān's statue and the vacant platform was meant for Ardavān's. But the cynical, captious and uncivilised Fateh-'Ali Sāh, second king of the Kājār dynasty, ordered this old work of art to be mutilated and spoilt and changed into an ugly statue of his own on horse-back with a long beard, an equally long crown and spear in hand, and caused a lion's statue to be erected on the empty platform, as if he could not find stones enough to erect a separate statue for himself. It is deplorable that such an important artistic monument of the great and glorious king Arṭakhsir has been effaced and replaced by the figure of one quite unworthy to occupy the seat of that great Sasanian king and hero. The old statue, though unfinished, was really a beautiful work of art carved out of fine polished stone with a globe-shaped crown on the king's head and a ribbon hanging down his head. We find exactly the same representation on the Sasanian coins. Fateh-'Ali Sāh, the despoiler of this ancient monument in the sacred city of Raē, was of low mentality and base nature. He had 260 direct children and when he died the number had reached 786 and twenty years after his death, his descendants numbered 10,000. One of his sons, Muhammad 'Ali Mirzā Daulatsāh, governor of Kermānsāh, spoilt and effaced a part of the hunting scene of Khusru Parvīz carved on the Tāk-i Bostān and engraved the relief of himself, his son and his eunuch in place of the carvings of Parvīz. The supplemented picture looks quite ridiculous by the side of the great Sasanian art of Tāk-i Bostān. One of the reasons of the total ruin of Raē is this that unscientific and avaricious excavators have taken away rare porcelain and glass works found there. At one

time Europe and America were full of the finds from such excavations, specially from the finds of the *moyen age*.

Whilst speaking of the splendour of Raê and of its ruins after the Arab invasion, I will point out before closing this subject, what the well-known historian Tabari has said. According to Tabari, Raê was captured two years before the death of Khaliph 'Omar, killed by a Persian Christian named Piruz in 23 A.H. (= 644 A.C.). The Arabs secured as much booty from Raê as they had from Madâyen, the Sasanian capital, which was conquered in 16 A.H. (= 637 A.C.). The booty seized in Madâyen was so immense that each of the 60,000 Arabs got riches of £500 in value. Khaliph Hârûn al-Rasîd was born in Raê in 149 A.H. (= February 766 A.C.). His father Khaliph M'âmûn lived there, Hârûn died in Tus in Khorasan in 193 A.H. As he was born in Raê, he had great love for his native place and in his time Raê was very prosperous.

Usually there are traditions connected with the foundations of great cities of ancient Irân. Similarly, there is a tradition that Raê was first founded by Hosang, the first Pêsdâidian king. Some, however, say that it was founded by Kaêkhusru son of Siâvas; some state that it was founded by Seth son of Adam, and Hosang afterwards added to it. After its ruin Manuchihr son of Irach son of Faredun rebuilt it. According to Tabari, Manuchihr-i Pêsdâdi was born in Raê. Aspandyâr, one of the seven great men of the time of Gustâsp, was living in Raê. Ibn-ul-Fakih says that Bêwarasp (Zohâk) brought with him the mountain which overlooks Raê to-day, when he fled from Ispahân to Raê. According to Bundahisn, Chapter 31, 40, Kaêkhusru was the suzerain of Raê.

According to the Old Testament, Rages or Ragau, as the name is pronounced, was a flourishing city in north-eastern Media, in the eighth and the seventh centuries before

Christ. In the books of Tobit (i. 14, v. 5, vi. 9, 12, etc.) and Judith (i. 5, 15), it is mentioned as an important place along with Niniveh and Ecbatana.¹ The strange story of the angel Raphael's visit to Rages is also familiar to those who have read the Apocrypha. Hence, it is certain that Raê and Ecbatana were two great and famous cities in the time of the Medians.

Darius the Great (521-480 B.C.), whilst narrating in his inscriptions at Behistân the events of the fourth and fifth years of his rule, twice mentions Raê: "Says Darius the king: Afterwards I went from Babylon; I went away to Media; when I went to Media, there is a town Kunduru by name in Media, here this Fravarti who called himself king in Media went with his army against me to engage in battle; afterwards we engaged in battle; Ahura Mazdâ bore me aid; by the grace of Ahura Mazdâ I smote the army of Fravarti utterly; 25 days in the

1 "Then the angel said to Tobiyyah, From whence art thou, young man. And Tobiyyah answered and said, I am of the children of Israel. Then Tobiyyah said, My Lord, knowest thou how to go with me to Media. And the angel said, Yea, I know all the ways, and in Media I have been a guest in the house of our brother Gabael, who dwelleth at Rages, a city of Media, and it is a two days' journey from Agbatanis to Rages, and Rages is built on a mountain, but Agbatanis is built on a plain." (Tobit, Ch. V.)

"And they came to Agbatanis, and the angel said to Tobiyyah, My brother, we shall pass the night in the house of Reuel, for he is an old man, and hath an only daughter, fair of form, whose name is Sarah, and I will speak to him that he may give her to thee to wife. And she is of good understanding, and her father loveth her. Now therefore hear me, and speak for her and when we shall return from Rages, we will celebrate the marriage." (Ch. VI.)

"Then Tobiyyah called Raphael, and said to him, My brother Azarya, take with thee hence four servants and two camels, and come, go to Rages, to Gabael, my uncle, and give him his bag, and he will give thee the money. So, Raphael arose, and took two camels and four servants, and went to Rages, to the house of Gabael, and gave him his bag." (Ch. IX.)

month Adukanisha were completing their course, then we engaged in battle. Afterwards this Fravarti with a few horsemen fled; there is a region Ragā by name in Media; along there he went; afterwards I sent forth my army in pursuit; Fravarti seized was led to me; I cut off his nose and ears and tongue, and I put out his eyes; he was held bound at my court; all the people saw him; afterwards I put him on a cross at Ecbatana, and what men were his foremost allies, these I haled within the fortress at Ecbatana."

We read further: "Pârthava and Varkâna became rebellious to me and declared allegiance to Fravarti; my father Vistâspa, he was in Pârthava; the people abandoned him and became rebellious; afterwards Vistâspa went with his army which was loyal; there is a town Vispauzâti by name in Pârthava; here he engaged in battle with the Parthians; Ahura Mazdâ bore me aid; by the grace of Ahura Mazdâ Vistâspa smote that rebellious army utterly; 22 days in the month Viyakhna were completing their course, then the battle was fought by them. Afterwards I sent forth the Persian army to Vistâspa from Ragā; when this army came to Vistâspa, afterwards Vistâspa took that army and went away; there is a town Patigrabanâ by name in Pârthava; here he engaged in battle with the rebels; Ahura Mazdâ bore me aid; by the grace of Ahura Mazdâ Vistâspa smote that rebellious army utterly; one day in the month Garmapada was completing its course—then the battle was fought by them."

In the historical records of many centuries, there are various references to this great and ancient city of Raghâ. I will mention a few of them.

The Greek historian Arrian, in the first century after Christ, in his famous book 'Anabasis' or expeditions of Alexander, mentions that Alexander had conquered the

four capitals of Persia: Babylon, Susa, Persepolis and Ecbatana. When he came to Hagmatāna (= Ecbatana) he came to know that Darius III was in Raghā. Having seized enormous wealth from Ecbatana, he went to Raghā where he rested for five days. Darius had fled from Raghā to the Caspian Gates; Alexander, with his army, followed him and marched to the east along what is till to-day the post road between Teheran and Mashad. After one day's journey Alexander reached the Caspian Gates. During the second day's journey, having passed beyond the Gates, he heard that Darius was captured. Hastening his march, after two days' journey he came to a stage where he heard that the satrap Bessus had captured Darius. On the fifth day, he came to a place where a night before the Iranian army had encamped; from there he found out a short cut to another stage and reaching that place just before sunset, he encountered the Iranian army which did not offer any resistance. Knowing that Alexander was approaching, Bessus gave orders to put to death Darius, who was a captive, and fled away. Alexander found the dead body of Darius full of wounds near a spring in his chariot. The well-known Caspian Gates called Pylæ Caspiæ in Greek are identified with Sirdaria. The place where Alexander found the dead body of Darius is not mentioned, but according to a Persian tradition it is Dāmaghān; it seems to be correct, as Dāmaghān is just 200 miles from Raghā. Arrian's report corroborates the fact that Alexander did traverse thirty miles each day for the first five days and fifty miles on the sixth, which makes up the total of two hundred miles. Thus we learn that Raghā was visited by the great Achæmenian emperor Darius and the great devastator Alexander within the interval of a few days.

The Greek geographer Strabo, born in 60 B.C., has written that Seleucus Nicator, Alexander's general and successor, who came to the throne in 281 B.C., had repaired

Raghà after an earthquake and changed its name to 'Europos'. He further states that the Parthian king Tiridates (248-214 B.C.), changed this name also and called it 'Arsakia', after 'Arsaces,' founder of the Askanian dynasty in 250 B.C. In spite of these two changes of name, Raghà was known to antiquity by its original name. It must be mentioned here that some historians, along with Tabari say that Arsaces, the first Askanian king, was an inhabitant of Raghà. It seems that Raghà was the capital of the Askanian kings. According to the Shâh-nâma Pâpak had sent young Artakhsîr to the court of the king Ardavân in Raê. From the Pahlavi Kârnâma-i Artakhsîr-i Pâpakân we learn that armies were sent from Damâvand and Raê to help Ardavân, but he became helpless, as the glory was with Artakhsîr.

Ptolemy, in the second century after Christ, has mentioned Raê as one of the provinces of the Parthian kings.

In any case, we gather from the oldest Persian and Arab writers that Raê was a province pertaining to 'Pahlav' or Parthia. One of them is Ibn-Khordâdbeh who wrote in 232 A.H. (= 847 A.C.).

We find many references to Raê in the Sasanian times and many famous persons are said to have been the natives of this place.

Ibn-Rosta, who lived in the second half of the third century A.H. (= end of the ninth and beginning of the tenth century after Christ), writes that in the court of the kings the nobles of Raê occupied a place next to those of Ispahan.

Ibn-ul-Athîr states that the wife of Khusrû Nosirwân, daughter of Davar and Anôsazâd's mother, was from Raê. Beheram Chubin, the general of king Hormazd who had fought victoriously against the Turks and had afterwards

become an opponent of Khusru Parvīz (590-628 A.C.), was from Raē.

We now come to the most ill-fated period in the life of this unfortunate city. When Yazdagard, the last Sasanian king heard of the decisive result of the battle of Nehāvand, he fled to Raē, took the holy fire from there and went to Ispahan, Istakhr, Kerman, Sistan and finally to Merv where he was killed. In his most miserable wanderings, for ten years he carried with him the holy fire of Raē and established it in Merv. There is a mountain called Kuh-i Bibi Sahrbānū overlooking Raē. According to a tradition one of the daughters of Yazdagard had fled thither owing to the fear of the hostile Arab army. This mountain broke open and took her under its protection. This tradition conveys the idea that this lifeless block of rock was kinder than the heartless Arabs. According to the facts of history, when the Iranians were finally defeated and Madāyen and other cities fell, a large number of them including three daughters of Yazdagard were taken prisoners. Ibn-Khalilikan 608-681 A.H. (= 1211-1282 A.C.), who has taken his report from Zamakhsari 467-538 A.H. (= 1074-1143 A.C.), has said that when these captives were brought to Khaliph 'Omar at Medina he ordered them to be sold as slaves. 'Ali was present at the time and requested 'Omar not to sell the daughters of king Yazdagard along with the ordinary people. When asked as to what he proposed to do, he said that a certain price was to be fixed for them and those who could afford to pay it would have them. 'Omar agreed to this. Then 'Ali bought the three daughters himself and gave one in marriage to his son Husain, another to 'Abdullah son of 'Omar and the third to Muhammād son of Abubakr. Zain-ul-'Abēdin was born of Husain, Sālem of 'Abdullah and Kāsem of Muhammād. Thus, these three persons were cousins born of the three daughters of Yazdagard. Sahrbānū was Zain-ul-'Abēdin's

mother. Saikh-i Mufid, in his book *Ersâd*, has called her 'Sâh-i Zanân'. The Siites revere the line of 'Ali, because they say that half their blood and progeny are from the royal family of Yazdagard.

The different dates assigned by the historians to the capture of Raê by the Arabs, 18, 19, 20, 21 A. H., *i. e.*, 640, 641, 642, 643 A. C., are due to Raê having risen up again and again and the Arabs having had to fight so many times till they could finally capture it. The names of the generals who fought, as given by the historians, are not the same for the same reason. It is noted down in history that the capture of Raê took place two months after the battle of Nehâvand. The first general who treacherously captured Raê was Hudhaifah mentioned above. In 25 A.H., Raê rose in revolt once again. In 64 A.H. (= 685 A. C.) after the death of the Umayyad Khaliph Yazid, Raê tried to be independent, once again, under the leadership of the Iranian general Farrokhân. Attâb ibn-Vargha recaptured it. In 68 A. H., Farrokhân was killed and the Arab army plundered Raê. Before Raê came into the hands of the Arabs, an army of Raê under the Iranian general Pirûzân, was then fighting in Jalûla and Nehâvand. This army also joined with the army of Âzarbâijân and Dailam and blocked the northern path against the Arabs.

Yâkût, who believed that Raê was conquered in 19 or 20 A.H., has left for us a poem of the Arab poet Abu Najd, who was in the Arab army and was wonder-struck at the greatness, pomp and glory of Raê. This shows how these bare-footed Arabs were overwhelmed with astonishment at the Iranian civilization.

Raê was not only the name of a city, it was also the name of a presidency, just as Ibn-ul-Faqih Hamadâni states in his geographical work written in 290 A. H. (= 903 A. C.)

that in the time of the Khaliphs the presidency of Raē had seventeen towns such as Khvar, Dumbāvand, Wima, Salamba and others.

Yâkût has preserved a very interesting tradition for the derivation of the word 'Raē'. He says: "I have read in a very old Persian book that Kaē Kâus constructed a wheel, provided it with all the necessary implements and desired to fly on it to the sky. God ordered the wind to drag him to the clouds. When he had reached the region of the clouds he was left alone and fell down into the sea of Gôrgân, *i. e.*, the Caspian Sea. When Kaē Khusru son of Siâvas came to the throne he repaired this machine and went in it to Babylon. When he came to a place which is called Raē to-day, the people said: 'بَرِّيْ آمَدْ كَيْخُسْرُو' 'Kaē Khusru has come on a wheel.' Yâkût further says that چار means wheel (charkh) in the Persian language. Kaē Khusru ordered that a city should be built on the same place and should be called 'Raē.' I think that this word is not quite clear etymologically, though certain orientalists have made conjectures and compared it with some Avestan word.

The popular etymology which Yâkût has given is taken from a lost Persian word 'rah,' "wheel," which is traceable to the Avestan **رatha** (ratha) and Pahlavi **ras** (ras). The same word exists in all the Indo-European languages, as *rota* in Latin, *roue* in French and *räd* in German. According to Ibn-ul Kalbî, who died probably in 204 A. H. (= 819 A. C.), the name Raē is derived from 'Reu'. Reu was the son of Peleg son of Eber son of Salah son of Arphaxad son of Shem son of Nuh (Noah).

We now come to the oldest Iranian document, the Avesta, in which **راغَة** (Raghâ) is mentioned twice: in Yasna 19, 18, and Vendidâd, 1, 15.

I give the translation of Yasna 19, 18 as follows:—

“ Who are the Ratus? The house lord, the village lord, the district lord, the country lord; Zarathustra is the fifth of those countries other than the Zarathustrian Raghâ. The Zarathustrian Raghâ is of four Ratus.

“ Who are its Ratus? The house lord, the village lord, the district lord; Zarathustra is the fourth.”

The Pahlavi version can be translated thus:—

“ Which are the Rats? The chief of the house, the chief of the village, the chief of the district, the chief of the country; Zaratust is the fifth of the provinces other than Ragh of Zaratust. There is the chieftainship of four over the Ragh of Zaratust. Which are its chiefs? The house lord, the village lord, the district lord and Zaratust is the fourth.”

Neryôsang, the well-known Parsi priest of Sanjan, has added the following explanation in his Sanskrit translation prepared in the twelfth century A.C.:

“ Zarathustra was the fourth Ratu in Raghâ because Raghâ was his own.”

This paragraph has preserved for us the basis of the old Iranian administration and indicates the holiness of Raghâ. In ancient times every family had its head who was called the ‘nmânô-paiti’ (نمانپاچی); every village had its chief who was called the ‘vis-paiti’ (ویسپاچی); every district had its chief who was called the ‘zantu-paiti’ (زانتپاچی); every province had its chief who was called the ‘dainhu-paiti’ (دینهپاچی), and above all these was the spiritual head, called Zarathustrôtema (زرادشت‌تم). Philologically, the word means “ the

most like unto Zarathustra." In the Zarathustrian Raê the temporal chieftainship as well as the spiritual were united into the one great spiritual personality of Zarathustra; that was why "the chief of the country" was not to be found there. We have references to these five administrators elsewhere in the Avesta, as in the Meher Yast, 115.

Raghâ is also mentioned a second time in Vendîdâd, 1, 15, where sixteen countries are described, where it is said: "The twelfth best place and land that I, Ahura Mazdâ, created was Raghâ of three races, but Angra Mainyu full of death in opposition created there doubt."

According to the Pahlavi version: "The twelfth best place and land I, Ôhrmazd, created was Râk of three races (se-tôkhma)", *i. e.*, Azarbâijan; some say Raê; and the three races mean the Âsravan (priest), the warrior and the agriculturist are holy there. Some others say that Zaratust was from the same place and these (races) were from him. If people do not believe this explanation, the meaning of three races is this that these three castes were from this place, *i. e.*, they rose from this place.—"Ahriman full of destruction created there this doubt,"—*i. e.*, they themselves were full of doubt and they caused others to be doubtful—.

I will explain the Avestan passages quoted above with their Pahlavi version. In the Avesta Raghâ is called 'thri-zantu' (تری‌زانتو) and in Pahlavi 'se-tôkhma' (ستکه). In ancient times the Iranian nation was divided into three classes, 'pistra' (پیسترا), *i. e.*, vocations of, 'Âthra-van' (اُثراون), 'vâstrya' (وَسْتِریا) and 'Rathaêstar' (رَاٽهَاٽَسْتَار). Later on a fourth class, that of the artisan 'هُوتی' 'hûiti' was added. These vocations are referred to

in the Fravardin Yast, 89, where it is said that Zarathustra was the first priest, the first warrior, and the first agriculturist. According to the Bundahisn, Ch. 32, the chiefs of these three vocations were the three sons of Zarathustra, Isaṭyāstra, chief of the priests, the second son Urvataṇar, chief of the warriors, and Kh'arsētchihr, chief of the agriculturists. From the Pahlavi commentary quoted above we find that according to one opinion, Zaratushtr was a native of Raē. No doubt, the Pahlavi writers took this idea from Yasna 19, 18, quoted above, where Raghā is said to be 'Zarathustri'. Perhaps it only conveys this meaning that the spiritual and temporal head is the 'Zarathustrōtema'. It does not seem to prove that Zarathustra was a native of Raghā. We find the same tradition in the later Iranian writings which connects Zarathustra with Raghā, e.g., the Dinkard, Book VII, Ch. 2, speaking of Zarathustra's birth and divine message (paras 7-13) says that when his mother Doghdu was a girl in her father's house, the divine glory shone from out her person. The Dêvs, the Karapans and the Kiks (Kāvayas) took her to be a sorceress. They protested to her father to send her away from their village. The girl's father bade her go to Paitiraspa, a house lord in the town of Spitamān in the village of Arak. The daughter obeyed her father's order. There she was married to Pourusaspa son of Paitiraspa. It must be noted that the family of Doghdu and of Pourusaspa did not belong to the same place.

We also find the same tradition, showing Zarathustra's connection with Raghā in the 'Dabistān-ul-Madhāheb' written at the end of the seventeenth century.

In Zāṭparam, Ch. 16, 12-13, we find two names of places, Rāgh and Nōtar, which are two districts of Āzarbāijān.

These two districts are sixty farsangs from Chaêchista, the well-known lake Urumia in Âzarbâijân. It is further stated that Zarathustra hailed from Râgh and Gustâsp from Nôtar. The district of Râgh was named after Irach son of Dôrâsrôb son of Manuschîhr with whom the lineage of Zarathustra was connected. Nôtar was named after Nôtar son of Manuschîhr, from whom Gustâsp was descended. Sixty farsangs or leagues are nearly equal to 210 to 240 miles from Chaêchista. Raghâ is thus beyond the boundaries of Âzarbâijân.

The important Pahlavi geographical treatise, 'Satrôihâ-i Irân', 16, further informs us that Zarathustra Spitamân was from the city of Raê. The words Alak, Arak, Râk, Râgh, differently written in Pahlavi, are transcriptions of the Avestan Raghâ and the Persian راگ, Raê, the ruins of which are found near Teheran.

Leaving all this confusion aside, we can say with some certainty from other evidences that the mother of Zarathustra was from Raghâ.

The name of Zarathustra's mother is not unfortunately preserved in the existing Avestan writings, but we find in a small fragment in the 'Saddar-i Nasr,' Ch. 40, advising obedience to mother, father and teacher, which is supposed to be a quotation from the Hâtôkht Nask, the following:—

'Mâ àzârayôis Zarathustrahê mà Pourusaspahê mà Duy-
ðhôvâm mà aéthrapaitis.'

I give the text as corrected by Christian Bartholomae. This small surviving stanza of the twentieth Nask, the Hâtôkt which is lost, means: "O Zarathustra! thou shalt not

aggrieve your father, mother and teacher." In this beautiful admonition, Pourusaspā, name of Zarathustra's father and Dughdhōvā, name of Zarathustra's mother, are used to mean father and mother in general and the word 'aēthra-paiti' (herbad) is used in its old Avestan meaning "teacher."

Although the name of Zarathustra's mother is not preserved in the existing Avesta, we often find it in the Pahlavi literature, *e. g.*, the Bundahisn, Ch. 32, 10, says: "The name of the mother of Zaratust was Dughiāv and the name of the father of Dughiāv was Frahimravā." We find the same statement in the Sâyast Lâ-Sâyast, Ch. 10, 4, in the Dinkard, Book VII, Ch. 2, 3, and elsewhere.

As noted above, Zarathustra's mother was from Raê. Sàrastâni who lived in the sixth century A.H. (1086-1153 A.C.) says, in his famous book Al-milal-val-nehal: "Zaradust son of Bursab appeared in the time of king Gustâsb son of Luhrâsb; his father was from Âzarbâijân and his mother from Raê and her name was Dughdu."

We have noted that the Pahlavi commentators of the Vendidâd 1;15, mention two Raghâs. Why? Is it a mistake? Khusru Nôsîrwân had divided his kingdom and placed it under the government of four Sepeh-bads, *viz.*, Kost-i Khorâsân (the East), Kost-i Kh'avarârân (the West), Kost-i Apâkhtar (the North) and Kost-i Nîmrôch (the South); the Apâkhtar-Kost, *i. e.*, the Northern Division, was so very extensive that Raê was included in its boundaries, and Âzarbâijân being the largest and most famous province in the northern part, in later times it became the common practice to include Raê in Âzarbâijân. As we know, before the time of Khusru Nôsîrwân Raê was never considered as part of Âzarbâijân. Even as late as in the time of Alexander the Great, there were rulers named Âtrôpât in Âtrôpâtakân and Raê had then no connection with it. We thus see that the authority

of the Pahlavi writers who have mentioned 'Râk' as included in Âzarbâijân is these four political divisions made in the time of Khusru Nôsirwân and the other Raê mentioned by them was the Rae which they knew was located near Teheran. We have said above that in the time of the Seleucidan and Askanian rulers, Raê was considered an independent province under their sway and had no connection with Âzarbâijân.

The Avestan Raghâ, Ragâ in the Achaemenian inscriptions, the Greek Ragai, Latin Rhagae, Pahlavi Râk, Râg or Arâk, all refer to the same place, to the famous Raê, which is in ruins to-day.

We have noted above that Raê was called 'Raghâ Zarathustris.' Several orientalists think that it was the seat of the Zarathustrôtema, who held the spiritual suzerainty. Damâvand was a part of the province of Raê and, after the Arab invasion, we find mention of the 'Mas Moghân' many a time in Tabari, Yâkût, Ibn-ul-Athîr and Al-Bîrûni. The prince of this place was called 'Mas Moghân', "Chief of the Magi" and we know that this priestly dynasty was captured after the Arab invasion of Irân. They must have made an arrangement with the Khaliphs for payment of the tax of 2,00,000 Dirhams and were thus spared, but finally they came into conflict. The fortification of Damâvand was called Ustunavand; it was also called Jarhod. According to Yâkût the fortress was very old and strong and according to tradition it had stood there for 3000 years. The first authentic mention we have of the 'Mas Moghân' is in 31 A. H. (= 652 A. C.). According to Ibn-ul-Athîr, Abu-Muslim, the Arab governor of Khorâsân, asked the 'Mas Moghân' to surrender, and as he refused, he sent Musâ bin-Kâb against him but without any decisive result. The last of the 'Mas Moghâns' was defeated in the time of Khaliph Mehdi, according to Tabari, in 141 A. H. (= 763 A. C.).

He and his brother Aparvîz were captured and killed and his two daughters were sent to Baghdâd to Mehdi.

I now refer to a very interesting subject. I summarise the appealing voice of the last Zoroastrian poet of Raê, the writer of the Persian Zaratust-nâma, whose name was Zaratust Beheram Pazdû. His poetry is not of a high order, but his work is precious for more than one reasons. He has preserved for us the old Iranian Zoroastrian tradition as well as some purely Iranian technical words belonging to the Zoroastrian religion by using them in his poetry. His source, as he himself has said, was Pahlavi and a learned priest had given him the translation from Pahlavi. He says: "My father and my whole family are natives of Raê," and he is proud of it. Above all, his feeling for his country and his religion is of great value to us to-day. He had written four works in verse of which perhaps the 'Zaratust-nâma' is by far the best. Zaratust Beheram Pazdû had completed his Zaratust-nâma on the day Âdar of the month Âbân, in the Yazdagardi year 647 (= 12th August, 1278 A.C.). We know that Changiz Khan died in 1227 A.C. and Pazdû wrote fifty-one years after the great devastation of this first Mongol. He was thus between the two devasters, Changiz and Taimurlane, and during the invasion of the latter, Raê was totally devastated. As I know of no other writer of this place Raghâ, after this date, I consider the voice of Zaratust Beheram Pazdû as that of the last of the singers of old times from Raê. From his book 'Sâh-zâda-i Irân and Khaliph 'Omar', preserved in the Rivâyat, we clearly note the distress and anguish of heart of the writer at the misfortunes of Irân, his beloved country.

It will not be out of place to mention here that Raê has produced great famous men in literature, science and medicine, and their names are preserved in the records of history, but this is not the place to dwell on their career.

In this concise and rapid review of a long range of materials, we have noticed the ups and downs of this famous city. From the antiquity and sanctity of this place, we can say that it was the cradle of Iranian civilization and culture. The severe blows and misfortunes that befell this city have no doubt effaced its glory and majesty, and though what we see of it to-day is but a mound of ruins, void of its ancient wealth and architecture, it is still full of the pure air which it once breathed and the light it once gave to the world.

'Sic transit gloria mundi'!

REFERENCES TO BUDDHISM IN IRANIAN LITERATURE AND HISTORY

In this lecture I propose to deal with some references to Buddhism in Iranian literature and history. It is not my aim to discuss Buddhistic doctrines and teachings. What impels me to speak of Buddhism is the Fravardin Yast, 16, which says :—

“ By means of the radiance and the glory of the Fravashis, *i. e.*, the Guardian Spirits, a renowned sage will be born, who will attract the attention and the confidence of the public by his learning, will overcome Gaotema in the discussions and be victorious.”

Gaotema is an interesting proper name in this paragraph. Excepting this only reference, Gaotema is not mentioned anywhere else in the entire Zoroastrian Scripture. We do not know the exact signification of the word. The word गौतम, ‘Gotama’, is found in Sanskrit, meaning a class of singers of the Vedic hymns. Also the name of the founder of Buddhism happens to be Gautama, and this has led Dr. Martin Haug and other orientalists to identify him with Gaotema of the Avesta. In the paragraph of the Fravardin Yast quoted above they see a reference to a discussion between Zarathustra and Gautama Buddha. Darmesteter is particularly emphatic in his opinion that this passage of the Fravardin Yast alludes to an actual discussion which had taken place between a follower of Zarathustra and a disciple of Buddha. This supposition and the arguments put forth in its support, however, have no foundation to warrant such a conclusion.

Before Darmesteter, Spiegel translated the passage in a different way. He did not take the word ଗୋତେମା (Gaotema) to be the name of an individual, but a collective noun signifying "countryman" (Ger. landmann).

Geldner translated this word 'Stannesgenossen,' *i. e.*, "member of a clan."

Considering Gaotema an adversary of the Mazdayasnān faith, Justi has remarked that it may be a collective noun, not a proper name.

Tiele asserts that the Gaotema of the Avesta and Gautama Buddha have no connection whatsoever. He holds that Gaotema mentioned in the Avesta is possibly Gotama, one of the Rishis of the Vedas. He, moreover, doubts if ever the single name Gāutama was used for the founder of Buddhism in ancient times, without one of his titles, Buddha or *Sramana*, or without his family name Sākya.

The Vedas, on the other hand, contain the names of seven Rishis, *i. e.*, teachers or singers of the Vedic hymns, one of whom is certainly Gotama. This name occurs frequently in the Vedas and we also find it in the Mahābhārata.

In order to follow the subject clearly we shall briefly review such portion of the life of Buddha as concerns our inquiry. It is necessary because the occurrence in the Avesta of another word 'Būiti' has set some orientalists speculating, who try to connect 'Būiti' with 'Buddha.'

We know that the famous Indian Emperor Asoka (263 - 226 or 260 - 223 B. C.) was to Buddhism what Kava Vistāspa was to Zoroastrianism and Constantine to Christianity. From an inscription dating from Asoka's time we understand 480 B. C. to be the date of Buddha's death, although generally it is said to be earlier by three

years. We learn from the Buddhist Scriptures that Buddha had lived eighty years. It follows that he must have been born in 560 or 563 B. C. His birthplace is known as Kapilavastu near the southern confines of Nepal. His father Suddhodana was a king belonging to the Sâkya tribe. His family name was Gautama and Siddhârtha was one of his epithets. After his historic renunciation of family and fortune, when he went out to preach his doctrine at various places in India, his contemporaries gave him the appellative 'Sramana', "ascetic" or "hermit". The modern Persian word شمن, 'Saman,' can be traced from 'Sramana'. It was customary for noble families of ancient times to name themselves after one of the great Rishis of old ; it appears that the Sâkya tribe had called themselves 'Gautama' after 'Gotama' of Vedic fame. Buddha is a title signifying "Awakened" or "Wise," given to him by his disciples on account of his teachings to attain 'Nirvâna.' It is possible that the same epithet was also given by the followers of other religious sects to their own preceptors who were contemporaneous with Buddha. He was sometimes poetically called 'Sâkyamuni,' i. e., "The sage of the Sâkya tribe."

Under the powerful patronage of Asoka the religion of Buddha spread far and wide beyond the bounds of India, Kasmir, and the entire north-western provinces, including Kandahar and Kâbul alike, came under its influence, and through the zeal of its missionaries it gradually penetrated the countries by the shores of the Oxus. There is no doubt that before the birth of Christianity, Buddhism had spread in the Zoroastrian country of Bactria and Buddhist temples had been reared by its devotees. The well-known Greek historian Polyhistor, who wrote his work between 60 and 70 B. C., mentions the 'Sramanas', i. e., the "Buddhist monks of Bactria."

The second Seleucidan king Antiochus, who ruled over Iran and the adjoining territory between 261 and 246 B. C., had complied with the request of the Indian king Asoka and allowed veterinary hospitals and shelters for animals to be built in his dominion according to Buddhistic teachings.

When some of the Iranians took to Buddhism, they contributed handsomely to its literature and their service in this direction is scarcely less valuable than the permanent benefit conferred by the versatile genius of a group of Iranian savants on the Islamic religion, literature, science and art.

I will quote here an account of the Persian Buddhists in China given by Kentok Hori¹ of the Imperial University of Tokio:—

"Ancient Persia sent a number of Buddhist missionaries to China in the early part of the history of Chinese Buddhism. We do not know exactly how many Persian Buddhist missionaries came to China, but from memoirs of eminent monks, such as No. 1490 in Nanjio's Catalogue of the Chinese 'Tripitaka', and various catalogues of the Chinese Buddhist books, we learn that there were at least five Persian Buddhist translators in China in the period between the middle of the second century and the beginning of the fourth. Even in the seventh century there were several hundred Buddhist monks in the dominion of Persia. Huan Tsang, a great Chinese pilgrim, while travelling in the western frontier of India near Beluchistan in 644 A. D., was told by the native people about the Persian Buddhism of that time. This information is contained in a short note on Persia in his *Si-yu-ki*,

¹ 'The Dastur Hoshang Memorial Volume', Bombay, 1928, p. 509, sq.

chapter 11, in which he says that 'there are two or three Buddhist monasteries (in Persia) with several hundred monks by whom the Hinayāna doctrine of Sarvāstivāda was followed.'

"Foreign Buddhist missionaries in ancient China often translated their names into Chinese with a particular word in the beginning to denote the native country of each one. ... Parthia was called *An-si* (Japanese *An-sok*) in early historical records of China. *An-si* is the Chinese transliteration of *Arsak*, another form of *Arsakidæ*, the name of an ancient Persian dynasty. The ancient Chinese had no sound like *ar* and used *an* to transliterate *ar* in a foreign sound. In the fashion just mentioned, ancient Persian Buddhists in China should have *An* in the beginning of their names. The five Persian Buddhist translators are: An Shi-kao, An Hüan, T'an-wu-ti, An Fa-hien and An Fa-ch'in.

"An Shi-kao, sometimes called An Tsing, was a son of the queen, and the crown prince of *An-si*. He learned thoroughly various branches of art and science, and was interested in religious books of foreign countries. When his father, the king, died, he was deeply impressed with sorrow and the unreality of the world. So he gave up his kingdom to his uncle, and becoming a monk, studied the doctrine of the Buddha. He understood 'Sūtra-pitaka', was well-versed in 'Abhidharma', and often recited sūtras on meditation. Sometime later, he left his country, and wandered about in foreign lands until he came to China and arrived at Lo-yang, the capital of China, in 148 A.D. Chinese catalogues of Buddhist books differ in numbering his works.

"An Hüan was a prince and an upasaka of the country of *An-si*. He was a gentleman of amiable character, learned in secular and religious literature. When he came to China, the Emperor Liang honored him with

the rank of the first colonel in the Chinese cavalry division. So he was often known in China by the name of Prince An or Colonel An. With the assistance of a Chinese scholar Yen Fo-t'ao, he translated ... two works into Chinese at Lo-yang in 181 A.D.

"T'an-wu-ti, or Dom-mu-tai as the Japanese pronounce it, is a transliteration of the Sanskrit Dharma-satya or the Pâli 'Dhamma-sacca'. He was a Buddhist monk of the country of An-si. He translated important passages taken from Vinaya of the Dharmagupta school in White Horse Monastery at Lo-yang in 254 A. D. His work (Nanjio's Catalogue No. 1146) exists in the Chinese 'Tripitaka' in the name of 'T'an-wu-to-che-mo' (Dharma-gupta-karman).

"Fa-hien may be the Chinese transliteration of the Sanskrit Dharma-bhadra. He was a Buddhist monk of the country of An-si. We do not know the date of his arrival in China....Unfortunately two works of An Fa-hien were lost before 730 A.D. Anyway An Fa-hien was a Mahâyânist, for both works belong to the school of the Greater Vehicle.

"Fa-ch'in was a Buddhist monk of the country of An-si. He came to China, and translated five works at Lo-yang in the period between 281 and 306 A. D. Chinese Buddhist catalogues mention names of these works, but three of them were lost before 730 A. D. At present we have the following two works in the Chinese 'Tripitaka' :

- "(a) *O-yu-wang-chuan* (Life of King Ashoka)
- (b) *Tao-shan-tsü-ching* (Sûtra on the supernatural footsteps)"

The religion of Buddha had, as already mentioned, reached the Iranian countries before that of Christ, and we have seen from the account of Hünan Tsang that there

were three Buddhist monasteries in Persia. Of all the records of many Chinese pilgrim-travellers who went far and wide in search of Buddhist religious books and manuscripts, Hūan Tsang's report is the most interesting. This great Chinese Buddhist monk was born in 603 A. C. in the province of Honan. In 629 he left China in quest of Buddhist literature and things of the cult, and returned to his fatherland in 645 A. C. When he was travelling in Central Asia and the neighbouring Iranian country he appears to have made accurate notes. His description of Balkh, which he calls in Chinese 'Po-Ho' or 'Tu-Ho-Lo', as a centre of the Buddhist cult is very interesting. This Balkh or Bactria, as is well known, occurs as 'Bâkhhdhri' in the Avesta and according to Iranian tradition, Zarathustra had taken refuge there under Kava Vistâspa's protection, had promulgated his religion and finally met his martyrdom there.

According to the later traditions 'Nav-Bahâr' is a celebrated Zoroastrian Fire-temple of Balkh. Firdausi's predecessor, Daqiqi, who died after composing a thousand couplets of the Shâh-nâma, has mentioned 'Nav-Bahâr' as a Fire-temple. According to him, when Lohrâsp gave his crown to his son Gustâsp, he retired to the Fire-temple of 'Nav-Bahâr' in Balkh and settled there. He adds:

"To the worshippers of Yazdân this 'Nav-Bahâr' was a place of pilgrimage just as Mecca is to the Hajis."

In spite of his calling 'Nav-Bahâr' a Fire-temple, it is evident from Daqiqi's own verses that Lohrâsp settled himself in a place which, however, was not a fire-fane. It was not customary for the Iranians and especially for kings to retire to Fire-temples for the rest of their lives. It seems that the place under reference was a Buddhist monastery. From the description of 'Nav-Bahâr' given by Persian

and Arab geographers of the middle centuries, such as Al-Kermâni, Ibn-ul-Faqîh and Yâkût, it is clear that it was a Buddhist temple. The famous Barmakis, on whose administrative genius the prosperity and greatness of the 'Abbâsid Khaliphs of Baghdâd depended, began to be converted to Islam in the last part of the first century after the Hîjrat. But before their conversion they were the managers of 'Nav-Bahâr' and its large estates which were all very rich. In fact they were the princely landlords of these important temple-estates. These Barmakis were originally Persjan Buddhists. Some orientalists suppose that 'Barmak' is the Iranian form of the Sanskrit word परम्, 'parama', meaning "the highest".

According to some Iranian geographers 'Nav-Bahâr' signifies "the New Spring", but the word 'Bahâr' here has nothing to do with the season of spring. It is certainly the Sanskrit word 'Vihâra' and the whole name signifies "the New Cloister". From the historical records of Hüan Tsang, the learned Chinese traveller of the first half of the seventh century after Christ, it is clear that the temple under consideration was a Buddhist place of worship. In his description of 'Po-Ho', *i. e.*, Balkh or Bactria, he gives the geographical situation of the place and refers to its floral beauty. Then he speaks of the temple and the 'stûpas'; there were about a hundred convents and three thousand monks who worshipped three of Buddha's relics, his tooth, washing basin and sweeping brush. Hüan Tsang's account of the 'Vihâra' is as follows :—

"To the south-west of the convent there is a *Vihâra*. Many years have elapsed since its foundation was laid. It is the resort (*of people*) from distant quarters. There are also a large number of men of conspicuous talent. As it would be difficult for the several possessors of the four different degrees (*fruits*)

of holiness to explain accurately their condition of saintship, therefore the Arhats (*Lo-han*) when about to die, exhibit their spiritual capabilities (*miraculous powers*), and those who witness such an exhibition found *stūpas* in honour of the deceased saints. These are closely crowded together here, to the number of several hundreds. Besides these there are some thousand others, who, although they had reached the fruit of holiness (*i.e.*, *Arhatship*), yet having exhibited no spiritual changes at the end of life, have no memorial erected to them."¹

So we see that the religion of Buddha was spread far and wide in the East Iranian countries, specially in Zoroastrian Balkh or Bactria which had become a renowned centre of Buddhism. The religion of Mani which appeared in Irân in the reign of Sâpûr the Great (240 - 271 A. C.) was strongly influenced by Buddhism. Zoroastrianism, Buddhism and Manichæanism all existed side by side in Eastern Irân till the seventh century after Christ, when the Arabs conquered Persia and pushed out all the three. We find some stray references to Buddhism in Iranian history, *e. g.*, that a tooth of Buddha was preserved in the Iranian treasury, just as the original cross of Christ was in the possession of Khusru Parviz (Chosroes II, 580 - 628 A. C.) in the Iranian treasures at Ctesiphon. It has been stated that Khusru Parviz's daughter Purândokht who ruled from May to October 630 A. C., had given it back to the emperor of Byzantium. Buddha's tooth was formerly preserved at Pesâwar. In about 520 A. C. it was at Nagarahâra near Jalâlâbâd. But Hûan Tsang, while visiting this place in the first half of the seventh century after Christ, could not find it there. He says:—

1 'Si-yu-ki. Buddhist Records of the Western World', by Samuel Beal, Vol. I, Book I, p. 46.

" Within the city is the ruined foundation of a great *stūpa*. Tradition says that it once contained a tooth of Buddha, and that it was high and of great magnificence. Now it has no tooth, but only the ancient foundations remain."¹

In a Chinese annual report, it is stated that in 530 A.C. an ambassador came from Irân to the court of the Chinese emperor and brought from the Sâh (the king of Irân) a tooth of Buddha as a present. This tooth must have been in Irân before the crowning of Nôsirwân (Chosroes I) which took place in 531 A.C. His expedition to the Kâbul Valley and the Panjab naturally took place after 531 A.C., and the importation of the said tooth into Irân cannot be subsequent to 530 A.C., nor can it be assumed to have come to Irân as an article of booty during Nôsirwân's expedition above referred to. Under the circumstances we can surmise that in order to escape from the enemy the *Sramanas* or Buddhist monks of the Kâbul Valley must have fled to Irân, taking the said tooth with them.

We also find in Iranian history a reference to Buddha's Alms-Bowl which, according to Buddhist tradition, will belong to a future Buddha. This is one of the most precious Buddhist relics. This Alms-Bowl was originally in Pâtaliputra (modern Patna) on the bank of the river Ganges. After the island of Ceylon adopted Buddhism king Asoka sent it to the king of Ceylon as a present. It was, however, plundered from there in the first century before Christ. Some time later it came back to Ceylon. The Chinese traveller Fa-hsien, who had travelled between 399 and 414 A.C., did not find the bowl there, but he saw it at Fesawar and describes it as under :—

1 *Ib d.*, Vol. I, Book II, p. 92.

"Buddha's alms-bowl being in this country, the king of the Ephthalites formerly got together a large army and attacked, with a view to carrying off the bowl. When he had conquered the country, as he himself was an ardent believer in the religion of Buddha, he wished to take possession of the bowl and therefore began to make offerings. When he had made his offerings to the Precious Trinity, he richly decorated a huge elephant and placed the bowl on its back. Thereupon the elephant promptly collapsed and was unable to move. A four-wheeled cart was then made to convey the bowl, and a team of eight elephants were harnessed to it. When these, too, were unable to stir, the king knew that his hour for possession of the bowl had not yet come. Filled with shame and regret he built a pagoda on the spot and also a monastery, leaving a garrison to guard the bowl and making all kinds of offerings.... They then eat their midday meal; and in the evening, at the hour for vespers, they replace the bowl as before. It holds perhaps over two pecks, and is of several colours, chiefly black. The four joinings (of the four bowls fused by Buddha into one) are clearly distinguishable. It is about one-fifth of an inch thick, of transparent brilliancy and of a glossy lustre. Poor people throw in a few flowers, and it is full; very rich people wishing to make offering of a large quantity of flowers, may throw in a hundred or a thousand or ten thousand bushels, without ever filling it."¹

Two centuries later Huan Tsang did not see it in the Kabul Valley and says that it was in an Iranian palace. Whilst giving a description of Kien-t'o-lo, Gandhara or Kabul Valley, he says:—

¹ 'The Travels of Fa-hsien (399-414 A.D.),' Re-translated by H. A. Giles, M.A., Cambridge, University Press, 1923, pp. 14-15.

"Inside the royal city, towards the north-east, is an old foundation (*or* a ruinous foundation). Formerly this was the precious tower of the *pâtra* of Buddha. After the *Nirvâna* of Buddha, his *pâtra* coming to this country was worshipped during many centuries. In traversing different countries it has come now to Persia."¹

King Nôsîrwân (Chosroes I) was, as we know, crowned in 531 A. C. It is recorded in Iranian annals that after his expedition to and subjugation of the Kâbul Valley he was presented with the well-known book called the 'Kalila va Damna,' "the Fables of Bid-pâê," a famous Indian tale consisting of a dialogue between two animals. This book was translated in the time of Nôsîrwân from Sanskrit into Pahlavi, the language of the Iranians at the time. After the Arab conquest it was translated from Pahlavi into Arabic in the time of the 'Abbâsid Khaliphs. This last translation found its way into Europe and the fable became known there. The second present to Nôsîrwân was a bowl of pearls and it seems that it was the same Alms-Bowl of Buddha.

Now we come to the word 'Bûiti' (بُيٰتٰ). We have said that some orientalists take it to be the Avestan word for Buddha. The French scholar Darmesteter was, without any sound reason, inclined to identify 'Bûiti' with Buddha. No doubt the Avestan word 'bûiti' became 'but' (بُتٰ) in Persian and it is a general term for an idol. The word 'Bûiti' occurs three times in the Avesta invariably accompanied by the word 'daêva.'

In Vendidad, XIX, 1, 2, 43, it is mentioned together with other 'daêvas,' such as 'Indra' (اَنْدَر), the greatest deity of the Hindu pantheon, 'Sâuru' (سَارُو), Sanskrit 'Sarva', 'Nâonhaithya' (نَاوِنْهَايْثَا), Sanskrit Nâsatya,

1 'Si-yu-ki. Buddhist Records of the Western World,' by Samuel Beal, London, 1906, Vol. I, pp. 98-99.

'Taurvi' (તારવી), 'Zairicha' (ઝારિચા), 'Marshaona' (મર્શાના), 'Druj' (દ્રુજ), 'Driwi' (દ્રીવિ), 'Aêshma' (એશ્મા), 'Kasvis' (કાસવિસ), and Paitisha (પાટિશા). It should be noted here that each of these names is, as a rule, accompanied by the common appellative 'daêva'. It is clear from the Zoroastrian Scriptures that most of these 'daêvas' are the opponents of the Mazdayasnân Yazatas. It is not at all logical to say that of all these 'daêvas' only one, Bûiti, is a historical personage. If we try to find the Sanskrit equivalent of the Avestan 'Bûiti,' our attention will turn to the Sanskrit word 'Bhûta', signifying "ghost" or "evil spirit". Some orientalists connect the Avestan word 'Bûiti' with the Persian 'but' (ب). No doubt the Avestan 'Bûiti' is the name of the daêva of idol-worship.

As the final result of our inquiry, we can state that there exists no direct or indirect mention of Buddhism or its founder Buddha in the Zoroastrian Scriptures. The 'Gaotema' referred to in the Fravardin Yast, 16, is a famous daêvayasnân, i. e., an adversary of the Mazdayasnâns. He is not Gautama Buddha. We have many examples of such 'daêvayasnân' opponents referred to in the Avesta. It is true that Buddhism was well-known in the eastern Iranian countries. It would not have been surprising to find Buddha mentioned in the later religious literature. But the Zoroastrian Avestan Scriptures are much older than the date of the penetration of Buddhism in eastern Irân. In order to compare the Avestan names of human or higher beings and establish a connection between them and the Sanskrit parallel names we must first look to the old Brahminism which was in all respects a parallel to the Mazdayasnân faith, rather than to the later Buddhism.

A BRIEF REVIEW OF IRANIAN HISTORY

As I am delivering the last of my lectures to-day and am leaving the shores of India within a week, I take this opportunity publicly to express my feeling of reverence for India. I am specially happy to do so owing to the presence to-day of Divan Bahadur Krishnalal Mohanlal Zaveri who is a good and noble son of India, is a reputed scholar of the Persian language and is presiding to-day. We Iranians look at our Parsi brothers in India with feelings of gratitude and respect, for their having preserved the ancient religion of Irân and with it our noble Iranian character. In Irân, to-day, all men look back to their ancient history, tradition and culture and, therefore, there has arisen a feeling of unity and love among the old brethren of Irân of the same blood. When we think of our Parsi brethren as the preservers of the ancient faith of Irân, a feeling of admiration and gratitude for India at once comes to our mind, for the tolerant India, but for whose hospitality and protection, the Parsi community would not be living to-day. This world-famous tolerance of the Hindus is recorded in the history of the past. In their turn, the Parsis love the land of their adoption and consider it as their own, and have deservedly served India with devotion and faithfulness, in all the branches of public life. They have given their full share in the social, educational, industrial and political uplift of this great and glorious country. We Iranians do not feel that the children of Irân had gone to any foreign country eleven centuries ago, because India is an Aryan country and we are glad that a part of the Aryân Irân had taken refuge

in a part of the Aryan India. Now I will give you some historical facts to show why we feel so very thankful to India for the preservation of the Parsis.

We learn from the pages of Iranian history that the last Sasanian king Yazdagard, being totally defeated in the battle of Nehavand in 21 A. H. (= 643 A. C.), fled from one province of Iran to another till he came to Merv, the extreme eastern part of the country close to China, expecting help and protection from the Chinese. He was treacherously killed in 31 A. H. (= 653 A. C.). As Yazdagard was thinking of going to China, he sent there a part of his wealth and Iranian treasure, and amongst other things the famous crown of Nôsîrwân. Ibn Muqaffâ had translated into Arabic the Pahlavi Khudâyî Nâma which was the source of the Shâh-nâma of Firdausi, as also the book of 'Kalila va Damna,' the Sanskrit text of which (Karataka Damanaka) was carried to Iran in Sasanian times and translated into Pahlavi. On account of his love for Iran his fatherland and its ancient faith, Ibn Muqaffâ was tortured and put to death by order of Isâ b. 'Ali, paternal uncle of the Khaliphs Ab-ul 'Abbâs al-Saffâh and al-Mansûr. His limbs were cut off one by one and thrown into a blazing furnace, in about 139 A. H. (= 757 A. C.) As reported by him, seven gold vases, each weighing 12000 drams, made in the time of Kobâd, with a large quantity of silver and gold coins and a thousand mule-load of bars of gold were, among other things, sent to China.

We find in the Chinese annals, that Yazdagard, called Pi-se-se in Chinese had, after his defeat in Istakhr in 638 A. C., sent an embassy to China to the Court of the Emperor Tai-Tsung. This embassy, called Mu-se-pan by the Chinese, may be the Iranian term 'Marzpân'. This embassy had taken to China an animal looking like a big rat of greenish colour. It used to catch rats from the

holes and it was called Hao-zo-che in Chinese. It is possible that it was a cat which the Chinese had not seen till then.

It is further stated in the Chinese annals that the son of Yazdagard, the well-known Crown Prince of Irân called by the Chinese Pi-lu-se, *i. e.*, Pirôch, had fled to China after the death of his father and the attacks of the enemy in the east of Irân. The Emperor of China had conferred on him the command of the cavalry on the right, the highest rank in the army. Pirôch was for a long time in Chang-negan. In 688 A. C., he built there a Zoroastrian temple and called it the Temple of Irân just as the Parsis have named 'Irân-Sahr' the first Fire-temple built by them in India. It is also reported that Pirôch returned to Irân with a Chinese army and fought with the Arabs, but unfortunately he was defeated and returned to China where he died later. Pirôch had a son in China named Ni-niya-se in the annals, which is the same name as 'Narsi.' Pirôch and Narsi are remembered even to-day in the 'Dîbâcha-i Âfrîngân' in the list of the glorious departed. The title of commander was also conferred on Narsi and we hear of him till 709 A. C. in the Chinese annals. I will not here enter into details, but mention in passing that Pirôch and Narsi had ruled small kingdoms in the western Irân and had gone to China after suffering a defeat. We learn that till 755 A. C. embassies were sent to the Chinese court. In 722 A. C. one of these local kings is named Poshan-hao (= Pasang) and in 728 and 729 A. C. one Khusrû is mentioned as a descendent of Yazdagard. In 732 A. C., an ambassador from Irân to the Chinese court is mentioned, without the name of the king who had sent the embassy. This ambassador is named 'Ki-li-e'. He was a priest of the Nestorian church.

I give this short sketch of our relations with China after the downfall of the Sasanian dynasty to show that

Iranian princes and nobles and a large number of the Iranian populace had gone to China as it was easier to go there than to come to India. Unfortunately, of the large Iranian population that had migrated to China, we find to-day no trace, neither any clan nor family surviving. This fact endears India the more to us Iranians that it is this great and glorious Aryan country which has saved and protected our Parsi race under its affectionate and tolerant shelter.

I am tempted to give one more example to show that till late in the ninth century after Christ it was customary for the Iranians to go to China. We read in the 'Epistles of Manûschîhr', written in 881 A. C. in the last quarter of the ninth century after Christ, that Manûschîhr, son of Gôsn-jam, High-priest of Pârs and Kermân, having had a controversy with his brother Zât-sparam as regards the orthodox usages of ablution, speaks of migrating by sea to China or by land to Arûm (Asia Minor), being exasperated and tired of the controversy. This shows that even two hundred and thirty years after the Sasanian downfall, the Iranians had close relationship with China where surely a very large population of theirs had migrated.

At the end of my introductory remarks, I wish to bring to your notice the memorable words of the Foreign Minister of Irân, who is now the Prime Minister, His Highness Muhammad 'Ali Forughi, when Dr. Tagore thanked the Government of Irân for having agreed to send a Professor of Iranian Culture to India. His Highness Forughi said : "This action was simply an expression of gratitude to India for having given refuge and protection to a band of our countrymen about 1200 years ago, who had deserted their beloved fatherland for the preservation of their religion and independence."

My purpose in this lecture is to detach from the labyrinth of confused details which has come into being in Irân during three thousand years and to cull out certain broad aspects and tendencies of the Iranian history so that they might be of interest to people who could hardly be expected to have either any intimate knowledge of or interest in all the events that took place in times gone by.

Geographically, what is known as the Iranian plateau extends from the Indus Valley on one side to the Tigris in Mesopotamia on the other. Persia lies in the West of this plateau and Afghanistan and a part of Baluchistan in the East. The latter territories have been politically detached from the common Iranian sovereignty only a few centuries ago.

When one branch of the Aryan race separated from the other which formed the nucleus of the Hindu community and came and settled in the plateau, it gave its own name to the new land and called it *Airyana*, which is the name we find in the Avesta. Similarly the Hindus called *Aryavratta* the land they came to and settled in. About 550 years ago, it was called *Erân*. Before the Aryans came to this plateau, the different aboriginal tribes that inhabited its different parts must have given their own names to those parts. Some of these names have been preserved for us by occidental classical writers. The name *Persia* which, with slight differences, is the name for Irân, in all the European languages, has its historical origin in the Greek appellation of this land. The real origin of this word is *Pârsa* or *Parsua*, which was and still is the name of the province of Fârs in the south of Irân. In about 550 B.C. the ruling dynasty of the Achæmenians, which rose from this province, so extended its power over the whole of Irân, and built such a mighty, far-reaching empire that

the name of this province of Pârsa was extended to include the entire country as also its people. The first Greeks who spoke of the Iranians were the Greeks of the Gulf of Smyrna, known in the old Persian inscriptions as the *Yauna*. As their language did not contain the vowel à, they replaced it by è and were obliged to call the Iranians as *Pêrsis*. So also, about a little less than two centuries before, at the end of the eighth century before Christ, when the then ruling dynasty of Irân hailed from another province in the west of Irân called Mâdos, that name too was meant to include the whole of the country of Irân and its people, and the Greeks then called it Media.

It is interesting to note that these *Yaunas* of Asia Minor were the first Greeks—although they did not belong to the island of Greece proper—who came in contact with the Iranians, and it was their name *Yauna* that the Iranians applied to the whole of Greece which they called *Yûnân*.

The average European knows little of Iranian history because he has inherited his own civilisation from the Greeks and the Romans. Nevertheless, the significance of Iranian history to indicate the pioneer work of Irân in the general march of civilisation is not annulled by the isolation of Irân from the European imagination. Iranian influence is discernible even in Christianity. It is much more evident in Judaism and in Islam. Irân was, moreover, once a great empire and had cultural contact with almost all the ancient civilisations, such as those of India, Greece, Rome, Babylon, Lydia, Syria, Elam, Egypt, Arabia, and even that of the Mongols and the Tartars. Even otherwise, Irân could not have remained free from such cultural contact, as being situated as it was, it formed the cross-way of these important nations of the ancient world.

Broadly speaking, Iranian history can be divided into two main divisions: 1) from 713 B.C. to 652 A.C., and 2) from 652 A.C. upto date. During the first period of 1365 years, four dynasties ruled over Persia, and it twice attained the pinnacle of glory. The first span of greatness lasted from 550 B.C. upto the conquest of Persia by Alexander the Great in 330 B.C., the period of the Achæmenian rule; the second from 224 A.C. to the conquest of Persia by the Arabs in 636 A.C., the period of the Sasanian rule. During the second period extending over a little less than thirteen centuries, more than twenty dynasties ruled and passed away, the sway of some of them extended over the whole of Persia and that of others was limited to parts of Persia only.

I have stated above that Aryan sovereignty in Irân can be historically traced to the end of the eighth century before Christ. We now know that before the Aryan invasion, the country had an old and magnificent civilisation. We find references to it in the Old Testament. The civilisation centred in the part then known as Elam or Susiana, now called Khuzistan, with its capital in Susa, now known as Sustar. The Elamite civilisation was parallel to the old civilisations of Sumer and Akkad, in the northern and southern Mesopotamia. The Sumerian civilisation gave birth to the Assyrian, the Akkadian to the Babylonian. The Elamite civilisation can be traced at least to three thousand years before Christ.

When the Aryans first came to the Iranian plateau, they settled in various parts of it in small groups. Gradually these groups grew up in number, became more consolidated and gathered strength. As the Aryans grew in number and strength, the neighbouring people were gradually brought under their sway, until they and their

old civilisation were assimilated into the new Iranian civilisation. The Aryans were developing. There exist inscriptions of old Assyrian kings describing how as early as a thousand years before Christ, they had constant warfare with the Aryan groups, scattered over the Iranian plateau. The Aryans remained in groups until at the end of the eighth century before Christ, the Mâda dynasty, so called because it arose from the western part of Irân called by that name, established its hegemony over the other groups and thus was founded the first Iranian Empire. I have mentioned above that the Greeks of Asia Minor first called the Iranians 'Medes' from this dynasty.

We have the evidence of the occidental classical writers that the Aryans of the Iranian plateau had very early formed themselves in strong political groups. We have particular references to the kingdom in the east of the plateau called Bactriana. Besides the reports of the classical writers, we have the testimony of Zarathustra himself, who refers four times in his Gâthâs to the king named Vistâspa, who ruled in eastern Irân, as the king and protector of his religion. I may remind you here that the prophet of Irân lived at least a thousand years before Christ.

We can form an idea of the nature and strength of these groups or principalities from the inscriptions of the Assyrian kings who were constantly at war with them. We read of the invasion of these tribes by the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser I, as early as 1100 B.C. Three centuries later Shalmaneser had led his army there. Shalmaneser's expedition against Irân is of special interest as in the inscription regarding the campaign, the Mâda or Medes are mentioned for the first time who, later on, became the first imperial rulers of Irân. Again we read of the campaigns of Adad-nirari in

810 B.C. In the inscription recounting the expedition of Tiglath-pileser IV, we read the amazing fact that the Assyrian king had taken 60,500 prisoners during the campaign. This fact gives us an idea of the vastness of the Iranian principalities. In 722 B.C., Sargon II again invaded Irân and that was the last campaign of the Assyrians against Irân. Soon after this rose the famous Median dynasty and the humiliation of the Aryans by foreign races came to an end. They soon came to power and their armies ravaged the proud plains of Assyria and Babylon.

Persian history, in the sense of an organised historical movement of the Iranian race, may be said to have begun in 713 B.C. with the Mâda dynasty, known to the Europeans as the Median sovereignty, which was the first assertion of the Iranian race as a conscious organised force in history. The dynasty which gave its name to this period rose out of Mâda, a province in the west of Irân. The life of this dynasty was comparatively short: it ran only for 163 years from 713 to 550 B.C.

Unfortunately, no Persian inscriptions are available to give us a full and accurate account of this dynasty. Most of our information is derived from Greek writers and Syrian inscriptions, for Syria had continued hostile relations with Irân at the time. There are also some references in the Old Testament to the Mâda dynasty.

Herodotus, Ctesias and other later Greek writers have mentioned the names of kings of this dynasty. But the testimony varies. However, the four kings about whom we can be sure are: Deiokes, Phraortes, Cyaxares and Astyages. Their Persian names are: Dâyukku, Fravartis, Huvakhsatara and Istuvegu.

The first of these kings Dâyukku who founded the dynasty was the greatest of them. It is said that

he was the judge of a certain town in Irân. He won such renown for his judicial integrity that he was elected to the tribunal of several towns. Gradually his authority increased until he became the virtual sovereign over a considerable part of Irân. He established his capital in the town known to the Greeks as Ecbatana, to the old Iranians as Hagmatâna and to the modern Irân as Hamadân. Unfortunately for the archæologist and the historian, the modern Hamadân stands on exactly the same site whereon the ancient Hagmatâna stood, and it is not, therefore, possible to excavate and bring to light the history of the old town unless we are prepared to demolish the present one. The inscriptions which might be unearthed are, therefore, to remain buried and unknown, and the historian must be content to do without them.

According to Herodotus, the fort of king Deiokes was built on the Assyrian model and had seven walls, each of a different colour. The battlements of the two interior walls were covered with gold and silver plates.

Under the first of these four kings, the Iranian people for the first time became conscious of having been an organised political power, and the shadow of the Assyrian supremacy was removed from the Aryan race. Under the second Median king, all the parts of Irân hitherto disorganised and isolated, were consolidated and formed into a single unified whole. It was under this king, Phraortes or Fravartis, that the province of Mâda, which gave to Irân the first imperial dynasty, was united to the province of Fârs, which gave to Irân its second imperial dynasty, and to which, as I have pointed out above, the name of 'Persia' is to be traced. But it was under the third of these sovereigns, Cyaxares or Huvakhsatara, that this dynasty reached the height of its glory. The Iranian hordes were then, for the

first time, disciplined and marshalled into regular troops and battalions. These hordes of fighting nomads were transformed into a martial people, who ventured to challenge the supremacy of the older kingdoms that had hitherto dominated the world. In the reign of this king, a large portion of Asia Minor came under the Iranian sway. The independence of the celebrated and wealthy kingdom of Lydia which, though small, was at that time the centre of world-commerce, was challenged, and though the Iranians failed to crush the Lydians a treaty was made whereby the river Halys was fixed as the boundary line dividing Lydia and Media. The height of Median glory was reached with the conquest of Nineveh, the capital of Assyria, by Cyaxares (Huvakhsatara) in 612 B.C. It was the first time that the supremacy of the Aryans over the Semites was asserted. The importance of this victory is, therefore, very great in the history in the world.

During the reign of Astyages (Istuvegu), the fourth Median king, the Median dynasty was followed by the Achæmenian. The Achæmenians were hitherto the satraps in southern Persia under the suzerainty of the Medians. With the defeat of the last Median king in 550 B.C., the Achæmenians under Cyrus the Great wielded the ruling imperial power in Iran. This change of dynasty did not signify any deviation in the course of Iranian history as initiated in its onward path of progress by the Medians. The Achæmenians simply carried this march of glory still further.

Whilst speaking of the great Achæmenian dynasty which ruled for a long period of nearly 230 years we are struck with the vastness and organisation of this world famous empire. Its boundaries extended from the river Indus to the Aegean sea.

So many nations and religions were living under its sway that its existence of long standing has been considered a record in the history of the world. This proves its sound organisation and justice in all the branches of administration. The wonderful strength of the Achæmenian empire lay in its perfect administration and the capability of the thirty satraps (Khshathrapas) under whom it was admirably and justly governed with tolerance and love.

The Achæmenian kings were God-fearing and noble; they never acted unjustly or tyrannically. Their tolerance is well known in history. Cyrus, the first Achæmenian king, is mentioned in the Old Testament as Messiah, the Lord's anointed, and his great acts of charity and goodness are narrated with appreciation. The Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar conquered Jerusalem and carried away 40,000 Jews to Babylon as captives. When Cyrus seized Babylon he freed the Jews from bondage and returned to them the huge booty and wealth which Nebuchadnezzar had taken away. Cyrus also helped the Jews to rebuild the temple of king Solomon in Jerusalem. His son Darius the Great gave them money to rebuild the temple. Nabonidus, the last king of Babylon, realising the danger to his kingdom from the invasion of Cyrus, gathered all the statues of the deities from all over his kingdom for the protection of his capital. When Cyrus entered Babylon on the 27th October, 539 B.C., he respectfully returned the statues of the gods to their respective places. From an inscription composed in the Babylonian language, now in the British Museum, we learn how Cyrus paid great homage to the local Babylonian gods Marduk and Nebo.

Herodotus, in his book III, 89 and 160, informs us that Cyrus was called father by his own people, in his time.

Aeschylus, in his tragedy named 'Persae', has called him the best model of a great ruler.

The quality of tolerance was inherent, more or less, in all the Achæmenian kings. In spite of the accusations of Herodotus against Cambyses, modern researches have proved that he was not a bad and cruel king as depicted by Herodotus. His cruelty to the Egyptians is only a myth. On the contrary, Cambyses had built a mausoleum over the remains of Apis the bull-god who died in 524 B.C. This mausoleum still exists. Egyptian hieroglyphics are still surviving in praise of this Persian conqueror. As these hieroglyphics were inscribed by the Egyptians after the conquest of Cambyses, we can safely treat them as genuine tribute to the goodness of this king, not feigned and inspired by fear. Herodotus' prejudice against the Persian kings can be explained by the fact that the Greek historian lived in the fifth century before Christ, shortly after the Persian expedition to Greece in 480 B.C.

We find this same Iranian tolerance even after a thousand years in the history of Irân. Justinian, the Byzantine Roman Emperor (527-565 A.C.), was a fanatic Christian. In 530, he sent a proclamation to close down the famous university of Saint Ephraim in Edessa, and the other philosophic academies of the time in Alexandria and Athens. The philosophers were not then allowed to follow their own religion. Seven great philosophers, Damascius of Syria, Simplicius of Cilicia, Eulamius of Phrygia, Priscianus of Lydia, Isidorus of Gaza, Hermeias and Diogenes of Phœnicia, were driven away from their country and took refuge in tolerant Irân in the time of Khusrw Nâṣirwân, who received them kindly, kept them in comfort and held philosophic discussions with them. Shortly after, a treaty was signed between the Iranians

and the Byzantines, one of the clauses of which inserted by Khusru being this that the Byzantines should allow freedom and peace to the philosophers of their country following other religions.

The persecution of the Christians in Irân no doubt occupies considerable space in history. It was mainly on political grounds and had nothing to do with religious fanaticism. In 294 A. C., the Christian saint, Gregory Illuminator, went to Armanastan and exhorted the people to follow Christianity. From this time onward, a large number of Armenians became Christians. Tiridates, the king of Armanastan himself adopted Christianity and died in 314 A.C. The whole of Armenia was gradually christianised and this was the cause of the constant tussle between Irân and the Byzantines. The Byzantines intrigued and instigated these Armenian Christians to create mischief in Irân. They insulted the Mubads, burnt the fire-temples and behaved disrespectfully towards them. The Iranians curbed with firmness these instigations made with political motives. The great German Iranist, Justi, notes that the Iranians must have been angels, not to take revenge on such great ruin and disrespect. On the other hand, we know that the Nestorian Christians, who had nothing to do with the Byzantines, were liked and respected by the Iranians and were very friendly to them. We can say with certainty that this persecution was purely on political grounds and had nothing to do with the Roman church, but it was out of necessity only to save the honour of the Iranian race and religion.

It requires no great stretch of imagination to understand what serious shocks Irân must have been subjected to when one dynasty succeeded another in a comparatively short time during the second period of thirteen

centuries in the history of Irân. In absolute monarchies, where the king is the state, dispossession of the crown is a debasing thing, a kingdom-quake perhaps, if we were allowed to coin a word. At least three of the twenty changes in dynasty, were productive of so much bloodshed and were so barbarous that the subjects passing through them required centuries to recover from their effects. The invasion by the Arabs, the terror of the Mongol Changiz Khan and the massacres of Taimurlane the Tartar, were such that the account of these make us wonder at the fact that Irân still exists. What is still more surprising is this that Irân does not only exist but it has remained Iranian! While Egypt, Mesopotamia, Syria, Africa and other unfortunate countries that have passed through the ravages of the fanatic Arab have lost their original character, Irân is the one country excepting Spain which, instead of being arabicised, has remained Iranian and iranianised whatever the Arabs tried to force on it.

For about three centuries after the deadly blow of the Arab, Irân lay in a more or less stunned condition. Then it recovered its consciousness and revived under the Seljuk dynasty (1037-1187 A.C.), resuscitated its ancient Achaemenian majesty and its empire extended from China to the Mediterranean. The Seljuks were foreigners, but they were totally iranianised and their character and morals were based on the Iranian model. It was the age of the literary splendour of Irân. The last part of it was graced by the twin splendour of S'âdi and Hâfiz.

But the sun set once again on Irân; darkness and gloom descended over Irân; it experienced the terrors and tortures of Changiz Khan and of Taimurlane one after the other in sweet succession. The story of their conquests is one long tale of pillage, arson and massacre..

How the sad recollection of such unredeemed barbarism lingers in the Iranian mind may be illustrated by an anecdote current among our people. It is said that after one of the ravages, Changiz Khan asked his generals if they had ever felt pity during their commissions of slaughter. The answer was of course a solemn denial. One of the generals, however, tremblingly admitted that he had been touched with pity on one occasion. When he once entered a house, all the members of which had been slaughtered, he saw in a room a child lying on a cot. The child was awake and its mouth was open as though eagerly feeling for its mother's breast. The general was so moved to pity that he put the point of his spear in the mouth of the babe and lovingly raised it up in the air! Changiz Khan was so furious at this tale of tenderness that he ordered the general's head to be cut off.

It is to the glory of Irân that these votaries of blood and iron, after a stay of some generations in Irân, were so humanised as actually to have become patrons of culture and of arts. The age that followed was the age in which the foundations were laid of that miniature art which reached its zenith during the times of the *Safavî* dynasty. The rudiments of this great art were introduced by these conquerors from China; planted in Irân, it was developed and iranianised and later on introduced in India by the Moguls.

Irân required centuries to recover from the shock of the Mongolian and the Tatarian blows; but when it did recover, it again regained the old splendour of Sasanian rule under the *Safavî* dynasty in 1502-1732. Under the *Safavîs*, the Iranians reached that eminence in art which has justly won for them a high place among the people of artistic talents in the world. Many of the paintings which fascinated the critics of western art by their

exquisite grace and colour during the Exhibition of Persian paintings in London in 1930, belonged to this period. In Ispahān, the capital of this dynasty, we still see buildings which unmistakably strike us as the prototypes of the Mogul architecture in Delhi and Agra.

The Safavis were the unrelenting foes of the Ottoman Turks and did much to check the aggrandisement of the latter in Asia, at a time when the Europeans, specially of Central Europe, lived in constant fear of them. It was this hostility which drove Irân to adopt the aggressive Shiism as its creed as a counter-challenge to the hostile Sunniism of the insolent Turk.

During the second period of Iranian history that we are reviewing, we find that Irân rose four times to eminence; not once or twice, but four times, was the sacred Aryan Fire covered over with ashes, but it could never be put out. Again and again when the light breeze blew, the flame rose and shone high in its ancient splendour. Irân has, in this respect, shown an intrinsic vitality, which Greece, its ancient foe, failed to show; for, Greece, after its brief period of glory, from 500 to 300 B.C., was over, never scaled those heights again, although it is true that some portion of Greece is immortalised in modern European culture. So also did Rome regain its Cæsarian grandeur only once, after its decay, in the Renaissance.

Irân is trying once again to reassert its ancient greatness. Under its soldier-monarch Razâ Sâh Pahlavi, risen from the ranks, Irân is progressing during the last ten years. If the progress continues, it might once more regain some of its former splendour not by the rude conquest of territory, but by the conquest of that which conquers the conquerors: by culture and the arts of peace.

Now I will give you a very brief account of the modern revolution in Irân. The barbarous Turkoman

Kâjârs ruled Irân for a century and a half and Irân fell to its lowest level under them. While all the nations of the world were rapidly progressing in the nineteenth century, Irân was doomed. The industrial revolution of the Western countries and the scientific advancement of their people on one side and the cold-blooded lifeless rule of the Kâjârs in Irân on the other had made Irân a deserted and helpless country to stand still in the midst of the rapid march of civilization. Irân had sunk so low that it was not possible to recognize it as a great country of the past. In the beginning of this century the situation was miserable and awful. In utter exasperation the nation forced Muzaffar-ud-dîn Sâh Kâjâr to change his attitude and brought about the revolution of 1907. But after a precipitous fall of a century and a half Irân could not realize the ideal of freedom ushered in its midst. The Constitutive Assembly was established but the affairs did not materially change. Then came the world war and the situation became worse. Between Russia on the one side and Britain on the other, Irân was divided and totally desolated. After the great world war Russia became Bolshevik and invaded northern Irân (Gilân) in 1920. Colonel Razâ Khân was then at Kazvîn, midway between the Russian frontier and Teheran. At this time, Irân was so divided and utterly lost that Colonel Razâ Khân made a bold effort and with his small army attacked Teheran and captured the city on the 22nd February 1921. He became the Commander-in-chief and immediately set himself to the task of organizing the Iranian army which consisted of only 15,000 soldiers. He then marched towards the various corners of Irân where there was disorder and brought the contending parties under his control and saved Irân from being totally wiped off from the map of the world. He was then appointed War Minister by the

'Majlis'. Afterwards, on account of his growing popularity he was put at the helm of affairs as Prime Minister and on the 16th December 1925 he was finally crowned as the Sâh of Irân.

At the instigation and machinations of foreign powers, the tribal chiefs of Luristân and Khuzistân and the Kaskâî of Fârs rose against Sâh Razâ but he had established his authority by the time and had a powerful army with which to crush these rebellious chiefs and give to Irân complete security.

Sâh Razâ Pahlavi has completely changed the appearance of the Irân of to-day, there is security of life and property and there are newly built roads for travel with safety guarded by the gendarmes on horseback.

Irân is proud to-day of its large and efficient army which Sâh Razâ has organized in a masterly manner. There is an army of 100,000 trained veteran soldiers with able and well-trained officers who had their training in the Western military academies. Irân possesses ammunition and all the requisites of warfare in large quantity. As military service is compulsory, Irân is ready with her army of nearly 5,00,000 of high standard and capacity to face any contingency, for self-defence. This fact makes us realise that Irân has not lost its ancient valour and martial spirit. We see the same strength and courage of ancient times in the Iranian nation to-day.

Irân has seen great ups and downs. Great dynasties had established powerful suzerainty four times. They were not the temporary effusions of a weak and tottering nation. The suzerainty of Irân was well organised on a firm basis of political power and on social and moral justice. It was not the short spell of a Napoleon or a

Nadir ; it was a suzerainty deep rooted in the firmness of organised Iranian dynasties.

The question may well be raised whether modern Irân with all its unifying influences and material and political progress is not rapidly drifting towards the Western pattern and Western civilization. The youths of Irân take their training in the West and all the ideals of life are imported or borrowed from the West. To this there is a conclusive reply. Whoever reads the pages of Iranian history will feel convinced that Irân has never lost its national traits, culture and individuality. Even great conquerors and a foe like Alexander were unable to change Irân's nationalism. The Greeks were, on the contrary, immensely influenced by the Iranians and thus Greece was practically conquered by Irân. Similarly, after the great Arab invasion and onslaught Irân never accepted anything from the Arab culture and civilization ; it was the Arab who was rather humanised and iranianised in all his walks of life. Seeing the greatness of Iranian civilization and culture, the later Arabs were obliged to adopt the traits of character and modes of living of the Iranians and all their great learning and culture received a decisive impress from the Iranians. The same was the case with the Mongols and the Tartars. Even at present Irân is, on the one hand, imitating Western civilization, and it will surely assimilate it, without losing her individuality as a nation. On the other hand, Irân is reverting to her old cultural and moral traits. It tries to revive the learning of its own ancient history and to respect and appreciate all that was good in antiquity. Thus, though there is a tendency towards westernisation, there is also the urge towards ancient customs and ideals—call it patriotism or

nationalism—and we feel confident that Irân as usual will retain her nationality and individuality intact.

One very desirable circumstance is this that Irân is also advancing intellectually. Education is spreading widely and within a short expanse of time thousands of schools have been opened. Though the Government of Irân is engaged in manifold activities and cannot provide enough funds, a hundred students are annually sent to the European countries for higher studies at Government expense. There is no compulsory education in Irân at present; the Iranians do not want to use mere words. We have not enough teachers at present and it will take years to train good teachers. After this is done there will surely be compulsory education; it is only a question of time. One good feature to be noted is this that a good number of books is coming out in this decade; more books are published in this short period than in the whole of the last century. Intellectual advancement is the only criterion of the progress of a nation. Irân is now acquiring it, and as a result of it, with her literature, poetry, art and science she will contribute her appreciable share as she did in old times towards the advancement of learning.

SUR SAXVAN
OR
A DINNER SPEECH IN
MIDDLE PERSIAN
*edited, transliterated and translated
with Introduction and Commentary*
BY
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FOREWORD

In the year 1932, I was asked to contribute to the Memorial Volume issued on the Tricentenary Jubilee of J. J. Augustin Press, Glückstadt and Hamburg, a suitable Pahlavi text dealing with some festival. While searching for such a piece, I came upon the present text, and then contributed its §§ 1, 2, 16, a part of 17b, 17c, 19, 20b, 21a and 21b with their German translation. (From the Sasanian inscriptions I selected the Hajiabad one calling it 'Archery Festival'. It is my intention to prepare a critical study on it in due course.) The unique character of the former text, which was not till then recognised, was a sufficient inducement for me to treat it fully. I expressed this desire of mine to my esteemed teacher Mr. Behramgore Anklesaria, and asked him whether the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, which had announced a prize-essay on the text some years ago, would entrust the task to me. Having received a reply in the affirmative, I took up the work at once, but had to lay it aside for various reasons; hence the delay.

The text has been edited from the materials supplied in Dastur Jamaspji Jamasp-Asana's Pahlavi Texts pp. 155-159, and not direct from the mss., although I should have preferred to consult them myself. But from the

manner in which the text and the variants are given by the editor, it seems that the work has been done quite scrupulously, if not also critically. And this is sufficient for our purpose. If all possible details are faithfully recorded, then our task becomes easy, even in the absence of mss.—we can settle the text on scientific and critical principles. This I have here attempted. For the sake of uniformity the numbering of the sections and even of the notes in that edition has been retained by means of certain devices; but all differences are properly indicated and, whenever necessary, are sufficiently justified in the commentary. And for the sake of completeness I have given also the clerical mistakes in the textual notes. They could have been safely omitted, especially those of the ms. JJ which is only a copy of MK, and hence has no value of its own except where it supplies the now torn and worn words of its original. The third ms. DP is an independent one, and its readings are more often than not preferable. I do not know of any other ms. that contains our text. It will be observed that besides the common mistakes about *u*, *i*, etc., there are some serious defects in the mss. These I have tried to rectify, but at the same time I have been very careful in not unnecessarily amending the text regarding the former too: that is, I have taken into account, besides the usage in other works, also the context, style, etc., before correcting or leaving the wording of the mss.

The transliteration could have been omitted, since the original text is given; but in the case of Pahlavi it is not a mere substitute in another script, it is also half the interpretation. Unfortunately there is no fixed system of transliteration, nor is it a mechanical affair as in the case of even the sister tongues, known from the discoveries made in Chinese Turkistan, which are transcribed simply letter by letter irrespective of pronunciation. It is suggested that the same process be applied to Pahlavi of

Books, but that would not be a wise course: the rich use of ideograms would then defeat our main object, and certain orthographical vagaries too would be a hindrance. In short, it will not be easy to find an intelligible and at the same time exact substitute for the original. Perhaps we can do this by treating the ideograms as their Iranian equivalents and by adopting some fixed rules for the ambiguous and other doubtful signs, say with the help of Pahlavi Inscriptions and Psalms, both of which too use historical orthography but far clearer alphabets. In the case of such a mechanical transliteration, there will be no question nor false impression whether we are giving Mp. as it was spoken in a particular century, the second or the sixth. It will also put an end to the diverse systems in vogue at present.

At present there is no unanimity about adhering to the earlier and historical orthography or giving it its later and phonetical value. Not only this, there are also other issues raised by the Turfan fragments, which are followed by some, but not even by them quite consequently. The Mp. Psalms have brought still other problems. And then there come new suggestions about individual words which can or cannot be accepted. In short, most of the conclusions are hypothetical, and the decision about them is a question more of personal taste than of scientific certainty. At least that is what I have found after a close and careful study of the literature on the subject.

Under these circumstances I found myself on the horns of a dilemma. The more I thought on the problem, the less I was inclined to come to a decision. But it had to be taken. Of course, the safe course for me was to stick to the system of transcription used in my *Šayast-nē-šayast* as I have done till now. But considering that the present text was a speech, I have preferred to give it a more or less phonetical form supposed to be current under the later

Sasanids in the south of Persia. We know that as a rule 'Pahlavi' of our literature exhibits the southern or Persian dialect as opposed to the northern or Parthian one. (A couple of northern characteristics which are to be observed therein, namely the use of *d* (δ) for *y*, of *g* (γ) for *y*, and of *y* for *j*, are due to its historical orthography—in other words, these changes took place in S after the orthography was fixed—whereas the use of *s* for *h* represents, in some cases, the older S change of θ .) And we also know that the extant Pahlavi works are of a later age, although they may have been derived from earlier sources and models. In any case, the composition of the present text falls under the later Sasanids as we show in the Introduction, 15.

I need hardly add that this so-called phonetical transcription is based on a working hypothesis and is more or less mechanical. I have changed the old tenues after vowels and for the sake of uniformity also after *r* into their corresponding spirants, out of which γ is sometimes even dropped, but it is retained by me. In accordance with the Pāzand, I have used \check{z} for \check{c} in that position, although it is said to be foreign to S; perhaps it had the value of *j* which is used in some works for the same. In the Turfan texts this \check{c} is retained or written with a graphic variant, but is sometimes substituted by \check{z} in N and *z* in S. Old *b* changed into *v* in Np. is written *w* for the sake of distinction. The vowels I have transcribed as usual, for the Pāzand might be said to represent a still later period in this respect as it does in some. Here is the only case where the different qualities and quantities can be properly expressed, and I feel that one can follow it when regular and in the absence of other proofs to the contrary. I have not done this, for I wanted to avoid unnecessary or uncertain innovations. It is for the same reason that I have stuck to *u* and *pa* instead of *u* δ and *pa* δ occurring in the Turfan fragments. An exception

is made in the case of the relative *i* which I now write *î*. Can it be that the exchange of *i*, -*ih*, and *I* (-*â*) in mss. supports the readings *ê* and -*êh* by Christensen and others who follow Andreas? The etymological explanations however speak more for the other. A similar exception could have been made in the case of -*βαð*, for *βð* is supported by various sources. In the transliteration no notice of var. is taken; but only noteworthy additions on my part are marked for the guidance of the reader.

As to the translation which is made for the first time, there is nothing to say here, except that it is purposely kept literal and that further explanation or justification is given in the commentary, where also notes on individual words will be found. In doubtful points, I have quoted the views of Anklesaria from his summary of the text in the above-mentioned edition, which summary is the only work that was hitherto done on the whole piece. The Introduction deals with the general questions like the text being a dinner-speech, the occasion of its delivery (whereby interesting details about some religious ceremonies in former times are brought to light, pp. 12-19), its age, etc. Besides, two subjects arising from the text are here fully discussed, namely the signification of *hamây-zôhr*, pp. 21-24, and the belief about seven heavens, pp. 25-28, for they were too long and too special for the commentary. In these parts, I have naturally adopted the same system of transliteration. Avesta I have transcribed mechanically as usual; I should have freed myself from the unsound orthography and transcribed more or less phonetically as is now sometimes done. Similarly the Pâzand I should have brought into the original state, but I have restricted myself to correcting it, only when it was beyond understanding.

J. C. TAVADIA.

Hamburg, 19th September 1933.

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 Aog. Aogemadaeca.....W. Geiger, Erlangen, 1878.
 ArmGr. Armenische Grammatik.....H. Hübschmann.
 AVn. The Book of Arda Viraf.....Hoshang Jamaspji and
 M. Haug.
 BdK. BundeleshN. L. Westergaard.
 "F. Justi.
 Beit. Beiträge zur Erklärung des Awestas und des Vedas
 J. Hertel. Leipzig 1929.
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 DdA. The Datistan-i Dinik.....T. D. Anklesaria.
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 chap.)
 FrP. The Frahang i Pahlavik.....H. F. J. Junker.
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Dink.....B. N. Dhabhar (p. and l.).
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- PV. Avesta.....sammt der Huzyaresch Übersetzung.....
Fr. Spiegel.
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SXvAp	Collected Sanskrit Writings of the Parsis, Part IS. D. Bharucha.
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OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

ad.	add(s).
Arm.	Armenian, from ArmGr.
Av.	Avesta, from AiW.
cf.	compare.
com.	commentary.
ed.	edition.
ety.	etymology.
f. ff.	following.
foll.	following.
g. l.	gloss.
Guj.	Gujarati.
Intr.	Introduction.
Ir.	Iranian.
l.	line.

lit.	literally.
lw.	loan-word.
Mp (...)	Middle Persian (... s. Bibliography).
n.	note.
Np.	New Persian (s. Bibliography).
NpTr.	New Persian Translation.
om.	omit(s).
Op	Old Persian.
p(p)	page(s).
Pâz.	Pâzand.
pl.	plural.
prec.	preceding.
s.	see.
Sk (Tr.)	Sanskrit (Translation).
Sog.	Sogdian.
suf.	suffix.
var.	variant.

SIGNS

<	>	Mean omitted by me.
[	]	Mean added by me.
(	)	Mean alternative or explanatory matter.
+		Means corrected by me.

INTRODUCTION

HEADING

1. A new heading has been given to the text. I have done so not for the sake of novelty or pedantry, but for that of properly representing the nature and character of the piece, which is unique as well as interesting and important. The mss. themselves contain no heading, and the different names with which the text is called by different scholars fail to convey this essential point. Dastur Peshotan Sanjana, in his Pahlavî Grammar (1871) 18, 31, calls it simply **સ્તાવ ન વિરોગ વિશ્વાસ** from the first words of the text,—which and also its sequence in his list show that he refers to our piece. West calls it *Stâyišn i drôn* in his article "The extent, language, and age of Pahlavî literature" (1888) just as in his essay on "Pahlavî Literature," GIrPh 2. 114, where he adds the following notice. "The *Stâyišn i Drôn*...is an Áfrin ...to be used at feasts where the sacred cakes are consecrated for the purpose of invoking blessings on" Ôhrmazd and others mentioned in the first main part of the text. Thus he does not seem to have taken into account the whole piece when he coined the above heading. In any case, he has not rightly judged its character. Lastly, Dastur Jamaspji Asana or his collaborator T. D. Anklesaria calls the text **સ્તાવ ન વિરોગ વિશ્વાસ** PT 155 ff., which is now adopted by other scholars also. It is true that these very words occur in the introductory part of the text, § 2, but they are wrongly separated from the context as can be seen from our translation, and therefore they do not justify the heading. B. T. Anklesaria construes this § 2 correctly and gives a general summary of the whole text in his erudite introduction to PT p. 51.

and yet he too like West considers our piece to be an *âfrin*. "This 'Âfrin,'" says he, "is a ritualistic text...to be recited, as the composer says, at every time and place, especially in the 'Rôzgâr' service." Evidently he thinks of § 1 which I have taken in a different light, s. below.

2. It is true that not only, as Anklesaria points out, some of the §§ of the first part recur in the ritual texts called *âfrîn* by the Indian Zoroastrians and *hamâ-zôr* by the Persian, but we can observe also other common features in the second part about blessings, resembling at least in spirit if not in letter. Nevertheless, our text contains something more than these benedictory prayers, and that something more is also something special. The author or rather the speaker clearly declares in § 2 that he wants to make a speech, and still clearer are his words in §§ 18b ff. which leave no doubt whatsoever as to the nature and character of the text. It is and it remains a dinner speech, not to say an after-dinner speech. We may call it an *âfrin*, say, *sûr âfrin* or rather *âfrin i sûr* like *âfrin i myazd*, because of some common traits; but why should we not give it a more precise name—a name suggested by the author himself? The religious and even ceremonial tone of the first part is no objection. That can be accounted for from the general practice of the time and the people, and also from the occasion on which the speech was delivered.

OCCASION OF THE SPEECH:

(A) RÔZGÂR

3. There are several indications in the text to this point, but they are rather vague and require a thorough examination. Firstly in § 1 which is so to say the motto or "text" of the speech there is a reference to "a *rôzgâr* of this kind" and twice again in §§ 15c, 18c to the celebration of the *rôzgâr* by the host for the appropriation

of the faithful. Anklesaria takes this term in the sense of the *rōzgār*-service in the first case, and thus, though in the last one he uses the word banquet, his view seems to be in favour of 'death anniversary', the prevalent meaning in modern usage. This sense is met with also in Persian writings of the Parsis, in Riv: *ravān i ašō ba-rōzgār i x̄ēš firō mī-āyad* 160. 7, *digar rōz dar rōzgār i vadard* 170. 1, *rōzgār i pidarān...kardan* 292. 2, *âfrinagān i gahanbār [u] rōzgār u rāmišnī* 386. 19, *rōzgār i zartušt...ba-kudām rōz u kudām māh ast* II 48. 15.

4. But from Pahlavī only one instance can be cited, PRiv 1. 1 ff., where it is said that the *fravaši-s* come to the world on their anniversary, *pa rōzgār i x̄ēš*. And moreover, there occurs the other and the proper word for 'anniversary': *u-š sâlîyān pa rōzgār i x̄ēš dārišn'* and his anniversary' (year's day, cf. *mâhiyān* 'month's day') is to be considered (or kept) on his own [death] day' PRiv 1. 8f., Šnš 17. 5. This shows how the term 'time, occasion, day' came to mean 'death day' and then 'death anniversary'. The same is the case with *rōz* too, not only now in Parsi parlance but also in former times: *nâm-cistī fravaš ruvān anôša ruvān ki imrōz rōz hast*, PazT 84. 1, Riv 402. 14. (This special application does not seem to be shared by the Muhammadans, there is only *rōz i husain* 'the day after the death of H.' given by Vullers from Johnson; but it is common among another people, the Gujarati Hindus: *dahādo kar-vo* 'to perform obsequies'; in *jarthošt-no dīsō* we have again the Guj. *dīs* 'day'). But even if we accept the special meaning for Mp. also, there is nothing to show in our text that some death anniversary is meant. I have therefore preferred to take *rōzgār* in the simple and general sense of 'day or occasion' which is wide enough to include any festival, or in that of 'time', if no festival but 'bad or good times' be meant.

(B) SŪR.

5. This term occurs twice, §§ 2, 18c. In the first case the reference is very clear: in praise of this *sūr*; but all depends upon the meaning of the term which is not one and the same everywhere. Originally *sūr* meant 'morning meal' Av. *śūiryā-* from *śūr-* 'morning' as opposed to *śām-* 'night or evening meal' Av. *xšāfnyā-* from *xšapan-*, *xšafn-* 'night', s. Y. 62. 7, Ny. 5. 13 where it is simply said that the fire of Ahura Mazdāh cooks these meals; but even here the SkTr. gives *utsavapāka-* 'festival cooking' for *sūr* and *nityapāka-* 'daily (i.e. ordinary) cooking' for *śām*, and so also the NpTr *puxtanī* *śādī* and *puxtanī* respectively. This shows the influence of the more common meaning of *sūr*, namely 'feast, banquet', which might have as well existed in Mp. as it is usual in Np. In any case, the term is not restricted to 'morning meal', but is applied to 'meal or food' in general and even to 'principal or second meal' as opposed to 'light or first meal'. MpT *nahvēn* occurring in *nahvēn ud sūr īg ēv rōčag* and literally meaning 'consisting of the first [meal]', shows that *sūr* has the latter sense. As to the former, simply 'meal or food', I may quote an interesting passage, a climax: *hēr ī gētīy bar sūr, u sūr bar tan dāštan, [u] tan bar [ruvān], u ruvān bar tan ī pasēn, [u] tan ī pasēn bar rāmišn, ī afrašāvand, u hamē ast, u hamē bavēd:* 'The fruit of worldly wealth is food, and the fruit of food is the preservation of the body, and the fruit of the body is the soul, and the fruit of the soul is the final existence, and the fruit of the final existence is the joy, which is indestructible and always is and will always be' DkM 522. 18 ff. This change in the meaning of *sūr* must have been the reason why another word, *čāst*, is used for the morning meal, Šnš. 3. 12, N. p. 20, 16, just as *nahvēn* in MpT.

6. Secondly, the term is regularly used for Av. *draonah-* which, when used with reference to *haoma-*, certainly means 'food offering', although Bartholomae does not record it, AiW 769 f. Of course, this offering did not consist of bread or cake as is understood by *drōn*, *dariṇ* or *darāṇ* to-day, but of flesh or meat, particularly the two jaws, the tongue, and the left eye, s. Y. 11. 4, 5, 7. This detail is repeated in PRiv 93. 1 ff., 190. 2 ff., Šnš 11. 4, the latter two using '*gāuśdāk*' for the offering, whereas the former closely follows PY. In another place it is enjoined to offer up the whole head, SdBd 26. 4 f., Riv 264, 14 f. In PY 30. 8 this *sūr* is further explained by *mizd*, which may be the usual 'share' or a defective writing for *myazd*, which is identified with *sūr* in our text, s. below. But it is not without interest to note that *hōm sūr* is glossed with *hōm drōn* only twice, PY 10. 15 (44), 11. 7 (20), whereas SkTr often gives *drūṇa-* (for -ṇ- cf. *darāṇ* in Guj.) instead of *utsava-*. This however need not refer to the *drōn* cake only, but to everything included in the *drōn* ceremony as symbols or specimens of vegetable as well as animal food. We can take our *sūr* in § 2 in this special sense of 'food offering', but we must think of many more things than the *drōn* requisites of to-day.

The fact is that according to the same § the speech must be considered as a complete whole as far as § 18 (f). In other words, the first part—in praise of this *sūr*—is not to be separated from the second and the third; and this last shows that the *sūr* was really a grand feast or banquet where excellent food was served and where cooks and table boys, singers and musicians, and gate-keepers were engaged.

7. The different meanings of the term have a semasiological interest. The morning meal came to mean the sacrificial food for offering, because in the society in question no meal could have been thought of without some

offer ceremony. This can be observed even to-day among the Parsi priests whose highest type of grace is an offer ceremony, not different from the *drôn* ceremony, s. my Šnš 3. 35 n. 7. That this offering then took a different turn and became a feast or banquet is also explicable. What was offered to the gods passed into the hands of the priests; and that was their main if not the only source of income. It is actually said that the measure of their wealth is such offerings or feasts: *ôê i gâhâniy... x'astay padmân až dakhm u (?) sîr* DkM 516. 18 ff. Of course, the desire to obtain greater merit on the part of the layman must have had its share too. Even to-day simple things are requisite in the ceremony, but for feasting that follows superb things are in demand. Similarly on the present occasion some ceremonial function might have preceded the grand dinner, but that is not mentioned here. It can well have been the *drôn* ceremony; there is a reference to *drôn* sacrificers in § 14c, but it may be quite general as in the preceding cases, and not definite as in the following one, where *ên* 'this' shows that the *myazd* refers to the present occasion.

(C) MYAZD

8. In Av. *myazda*- like Sk. *miyēdha*- meant sacrificial food. It consisted of meat and wine, *gaomantəm madumantəm* V. 8. 22. According to A. 3. 3 f. a young one of a small animal (that is, a lamb or a kid) that no longer sucks, and milk-wine are to be given as *myazda*- in the *gâhanbâr* ceremony, cf. another quotation and additional details in N. 113. 11 ff., PRiv 186. 12 ff. From Y. 8. 2 we learn that the *myazda*- was partaken of by the congregation. What it consisted of can be judged from Y. 4. 1 which is developed in PRiv 177. 10 ff. The latter 184. 6. ff. as well as N. 47. 23 ff. gives the order in which various offerings are

to be tasted; these include wine and meat—"gāuśdāk" which is not only clarified butter as Bulsara renders, but various sorts of meat as detailed in PRiv 186, 1 ff. All this is in connection with the *drōn* ceremony, whereas *myazd* means simply the food offerings required for it; we learn nothing about the *myazd* ceremony as such. The same can be said of the symbolical account of the *drōn* and (its?) *myazd*, where the details about the latter refer principally to the manner of eating—without noise and chattering, with washed hands, etc., PRiv. 168, 1 ff.; but we at least see that the *myazd* is used for the feast that follows the *drōn* ceremony.

9. Other places where the term occurs shed some further or different light on this point. *u-śān drōn yaśt u vīrāz vāz grift*, *u x^arišn x^ard*, *u myazd rāyēnið*, [u] *vāz bē guft... u āfrīnayān guft*, AVn 3. 20f. The parallel version in PazT 361. 11f. describes Virā(z?) himself performing the highest type of grace, or *drōn yaśtan* as it is technically called, s. Šns 3. 35 n. 7, which detail is immaterial; but its addition of *pa sparkm u may* before *vāz* is important. In spite of this order and in spite of the punctuation which goes back to the SkTr we are to connect this further detail with the *myazd*. This can be proved from KnS 7. 6-8 where the same situation is described, the end being *u-śān may nē bið*, *bē našk ô pēš āwurð*, *u myazd rāyēnið*, [u] *āfrīnayān kard*. Thus we see that the *myazd* is performed with wine and aromatic herbs or flowers, basil or pomegranate, (the latter is one of the meanings of Np. *našk*, *našak* and is also used to-day) and that the prayers recited on the occasion are benedictory ones. As to the herbs or flowers, the following detail, not observed to-day, may be noted: two pieces of basil (or any 'aromatic herb' as the term also means, s. GrBd 117. 3 ff.=BdK 64. 17f.) for everybody are required in the *drōn* ceremony, which are

then to be put on the ears, just as the eatables are to be tasted, PRiv 167. 7 ff., PazT 68. 19 ff. Basil was offered also to children after meal, but it was to be replaced in the proper place, PazT 73. 23, Junker Schulgespräch § 19. As to the prayers, we do not know whether *âfrinayân* were only the Av. pieces, or also their Mp. counterparts known as *âfrin* in India and as *hamâ-zôr* in Persia. Very probably both were recited as in the *âfrinayân* ceremony to-day.

10. This ceremony is performed by itself or is preceded by the *drôn* ceremony, and its requisites are wine, fruit, and flowers. Though fruit is not mentioned in the above passages, it was used also in former times in the *drôn* ceremony, PRiv 173. 17, N. 40. 26 etc. It is not clear whether the gloss on *myazd* in PY. 34. 3, *ku bar pa x'êshî i tô dârom SkTr kila phalam svâdhînatayâ dadhâmî*, is to be understood figuratively or literally;—*mêvay* would have been 'fruit' unequivocally. If *bar* is used in the same sense, then we have a further evidence in the matter; and it would be also significant for Zoroaster's opposition to animal sacrifice, which feeling is respected even in Yt. as far as his person is concerned, though they are otherwise full of such sacrifices. In any case, fruit plays such an important part to-day that it alone is called *mej* by the Parsis, who rarely use even another word for it. Thus here too we see the close relation of the *drôn*, *myazd*, and *âfrinayân*. We may even identify the last two, s. the oft-occurring formula in the *âfrin* prayers, PazT 83. 13 f. 91. 10 f., etc., *yazišn kard hom*, *darûn yašt hom*, *myazd hamî râyînam* where the last refers to the *âfrinayân* ceremony, cf. the list *yazišn u drôn u âfrinayân* AVn. 1. 26.

11. The only difference between the two is of degree and not of kind, if I were to speak from modern usage. I

remember that in the *mej* ceremony proper large quantity of cut and uncut fruit was consecrated and then distributed among the children specially sent to fetch it home. This usage may be compared with that of *gâhanbâr* in Persia, MadMemVol. 303 f. In India it does not seem to be common now, but it can be compared with the *jašn* where too the *âfrinayân* prayers are recited over the fruit to be tasted by the assembly.

12. Now such a feast of fruit only cannot have been meant by *myazd* in our text, where the term is used in the same manner as *sîr*, and so it must have also the same meaning, namely 'feast or banquet'. Such is the case in Np. where the pronunciation and the meaning are a little influenced by the popular etymology from *may* 'wine': *maizad*, *mîzad* instead of *miyazd* 'banquet of wine, jovial entertainment' (*mâjlîs i šarâb u bâzm i 'îsrat u mihmâni*). Similarly *jašn* means both solemn as well as jovial feast. (The regular as opposed to the above-mentioned learned word is *mêz* '(dinner-) table, guest, provisions (? *asbâb*) for a guest' which has passed on to India with the meaning 'table'.) We have seen above that the *myazd* was a feast after the *drôn* ceremony. And we can cite another passage no longer extant in original Pahlavi but handed down in a corrupt Pâzand or transliteration in Riv II 21. 16 ff. and 360. 10 ff. which also shows that many people used to take part in it. In comparing it with the *yazišn* it is said there that *ba myazd avâ darviš šukôh i nekôtar, či ham-rasišn i vihân rû pêdâ ku ô<ham...up to ku>ham-rasišn i amešâspendân humâna* 'in the *myazd* with the righteous poor (*darviš*) there is better dignity, for as to the coming together of those of the light religion (*vihân*) it is evident that it is like the coming together of the Amešâspends'. This, I believe, is the exact version, but cf. that given by Dhabhar, RivTr

407. We might perhaps take *ham-rasišn* = 'help' in the first case, but that might not suit the second, and the idea is that of dignity, not that of greater charitable purpose; this would have been expressed differently. We have to stick to the feast or eating of the sacrificial food in a congregation, which also suits PRiv 47. 9: *myazd i ân mēh u vēh i gâh-anbâr*.—The last word is to be thus separated, because *gâhân-bâr* is not right and the Pâz. too goes against it, s. my review of Junker, Bruchstück der Âfrinaghân i Gâhânbâr, in IF. 53, 141 ff.

13. Thus then the occasion of the speech was a grand dinner or feast *staþr sîr* § 18; the food was consecrated or offered up, it was a *sîr* § 2 or *myazd* § 15. The offer ceremony is here represented by the first part of the speech, by *stâyêntârîh* § 2 or *hamây-zôhr* §§ 3-15. We do not know whether the *âfrinayân* or *jašn* was performed beforehand or not, as is the case to-day. As to the *drôn* ceremony, the reply depends upon the view in which we take the reference to *drôn* sacrificers in § 14 c, general or particular. It seems we have to decide for the latter, for they cannot be compared with the preceding worthies, but more easily so with the following mention of the participants in the *myazd*, which is also definite. In that case we have to observe that the *drôn* ceremony must have been performed in the morning; whereas the dinner is finished late in the night, s. § 20 b; but it need not have begun immediately after the other. That a feast in ancient Persia continued for hours is a well known fact observed by Herodotus downwards; for the Sasanian period we may refer to Rosenberg, Wine Feasts in the Iranian National Epic, translated by Bogdanov in this Journal No. 19.

REAL SPEECH OR MODEL SPEECH.

14. Lastly we may consider the question whether the speech is a model speech just as there are model letters in

the same collection PT 132 ff., or a real one delivered on some occasion and then handed down to us by some way or the other. It contains a great deal of stereotyped matter which must have been repeated on various occasions, but that alone does not put the piece in the category of a mere model composition. If we have correctly explained the repetition of a phrase in § 20a as being due to the desire of the speaker to change his mind or correct himself, we must admit that the piece is a genuine speech. This might even suggest that it was not read out, but delivered extempore. Note that what he says is not much. Also the pleasant and light tone here and in § 19a points to its real nature; whereas the model letters contain nothing except high-sounding but lifeless formulas and phrases. In any case, these and other details in the last parts are interesting by themselves; and even those in the first part are not without importance, for instance, the titles and epithets of the Sasanian dignitaries.

DATE OF THE TEXT.

15. This brings us to the question of the age or date of the piece. While discussing the occurrence of *x'adây* with reference to Ôhrmazd in Mp. works, Bartholomae declares that the text on *mâh i fravardîn* etc. and our one are quite late—Recht spät sind die Texte *Mâh...und St...*, MirM 3. 50. The former of these is no doubt very late, but I do not know what has led the great Iranist to think the same of the other. If it be the summary of Anklesaria where one reads “He (God) may soon restore to the faithful the sovereignty and the throne of Irân-shahr”, then the conclusion is wrong, because this idea is not contained in the original, s. § 15 b. There are no other signs which point to the late, that is, post-Sasanian composition of the text;—of course, some obscure parts as in § 5 (or the whole of it) may be reckoned as late glosses or interpolations, but

that is a different matter. On the contrary, §§ 9-14b clearly show that the date of our text falls within the Sasanian era, for they contain purely Sasanian titles and epithets. If we can explain the omission of the northern commander-in-chief in § 12 and the inclusion of *hazâraβād* in § 14 b with the help of historical evidence, then we can assign a definite date to the speech. For the present we have found only the upper limit, namely the reign of Xusrv I, s. com. on § 12.

PLAN OF THE SPEECH.

16. We have often referred to the first and other parts or divisions of our piece. These are briefly hinted in the translation, and fully explained and justified in the commentary. Therefore we need not dwell on the point here.

HAMĀY-ZŌHR IN §§ 3 ff.

17. Anklesaria, PT Intr. 51, explains this term as "co-operation, the Zoroastrian ideal of union in work"; but its literal meaning does not admit of such an interpretation: *hamāy* means always 'all, whole' and never 'co-' or the like for which *ham* is used; and *zōhr* is Av. *zaodra-* 'libation, offering', and not Av. *zāvar-* for which *zōr* is expected. It is true that both these words are often mixed up (s. AiW 1690) owing to their Pāz. being the same, namely *zōr*. This confusion occurs also in our collection PT 133. 7, 134. 3 where *zōhr* is used for *zōr*, to judge from the context: *bālistān zōr + i pādiyāvandīhā* and *yazdān zēn u hunarāvandān zōr + u ērān pušt* respectively. But this does not mean that such is the case in our term also. We have to decide it from the context etc.

18. The term or phrase occurs at the beginning of the *āfrin* prayers which are, for the same reason, called *hamā-zōr* in Persia. The SkTr *sarvaprāna-* SkXvAp.

56, ZHss. *70, has little value, for *prâna-* ‘strength’ is used for both *zaōra* and *zâvar-*, AiW 1655, 1690. Note that in Mx. *zôhr* is not translated into Sk., but only transcribed as *jora*, 5. 13, 62. 34 ff. The NpTr *tamâm tavâna*, Tirandâz 239, must be put in the same category as that of modern interpreters who found ‘strength’ as the most natural meaning. Thus Irani “(we may have our) strength joined together” MadMemVol. 305 and Dhabhar “united in strength” RivTr 304 etc., both like Anklesaria. The context also is such that this meaning can be said to suit it. But when we take the whole situation in consideration we come to another conclusion. According to Irani the said formula is recited in the *afrinayân* ceremony on the commencement of the *hamâ-zôr i dahmân* which is the same as the first part of the *afrin i rapiðwin*, cf. Tirandâz 239 ff. and PazT 98 ff. Indian Parsis recite Y. 35. 2 between these two, cf. Modi, Cerem. 401. But the formula recited by them, *hamâ zôr hamâ ašô bêd*, shows that the insertion does not hinder us in directly connecting the two, since the formula is nothing but the beginning of the *afrin*. This formula is recited towards the end of other ceremonies also, when the officiating and the assistant priest join their hands in a certain manner, which has led Modi, Cerem. 405, to give “to be the same or to be one in ceremony” as the explanation of *hamâ-zôr*. But he is wrong in connecting *hamâ* with Av. *hama-* and in attributing the sense of ‘ceremony’ to *zôr*, Av. *zaōra-*.

19. By adopting the literal meanings the compound term can only be signified as ‘having all the offerings’, and if it suits the situation we have no reason to consider *zôhr* as a mistake for *zôr* ‘strength’. The *hamâ-zôr* formula is not only taken from the *afrin* prayer which forms the last part of the *afrinayân* or *jašn* ceremony, but the *hamâ-zôr* ritual is performed on this occasion with every

member of the congregation—directly in India, indirectly, by presenting the fire, in Persia—who then partakes of the sacrificial food. Now one of the words for the latter is *zaōdra-*, *zôhr*, which is not restricted to liquid offerings, but is used for solid ones also, s. my Šnš 7. 9 n. 3. Therefore it is quite natural if we see this *zôhr* in *hamâ-zôr* and connect the performance of the ritual with the participation in the sacrificial repast. The following can be cited in support of this view.

20. In the account of the ceremonies to be performed for a departed one we read *inter alia*: *u andar ân 3 rôz, yazišn hamây ân i srôs kunišn, u-š nirang hamây êdôn bavêð, ēiyôñ abârîy yazišn bê "hamây zôhr bavêð"*: *ast kê êdôn gôwêð, è! pa-č drôñ "x"arata narô" nê gôwišn*, 'and in those three days the *yazišn* [ceremonies] are all to be performed those of Srôs; and their ritual is all such as [that of] the other *yazišn* [ceremonies] except [the formula] *h.z.b.*; there is [some one] who says thus: lo! also in the *drôñ* [ceremony] "*x"arata narô* (eat ye, men)" is not to be recited', PV. 8. 22 com. It is possible that *yazišn* is used for a ceremony in general and not for the *yazišn* ceremony; as a rule *yašt* is used in the latter sense. Then *bûð* may or may not be a mistake for *bavêð*. But instead of *bê* 'except, without' one ms. gives *pa* 'with'. If the latter is correct, then the reference is not to *hamây-zôhr* in our sense, but to 'all the *zôhr* or requisites', cf. Riv II 12. 2 where the *yazišn* without the *varas* and other requisites is called *yašt i vi (=bi) zôr*, and PRiv 24. 3 f. 10 ff. where the merits of the ceremonies with and without *zôhr* are enumerated. But the last clause is so worded as to show that the reference must have a similar import, and so here too we see the relation of *hamây-zôhr* with partaking of the ceremonial food. Unfortunately other texts and studies on the ceremonies in question do not throw any direct

light on the doubtful point. But so much is certain that more food is consecrated on other occasions than during the first three days after death, and sometimes even a feast is given on the fourth day, cf. Riv 152. 15 ff. Then we may note that in the *âfrînayân* of Srôš during those days water and flowers only are required—and no fruit as is usual and essential, Modi, Cerem. 79. This too shows that no tasting follows. The *âfrîn* prayer is also not recited, Modi Cerem. 387, but I find that the *hamâ-zôr* formula is not omitted by the priests. For PV § s. App., p. 83.

21. Looking from the negative side, there can be no objection to our meaning ‘having all the offerings’. To participate in the sacrificial food has no mean merit. It is the sign of worthiness on the one hand and that of attaining spiritual power on the other. When the term is used with reference to Ôhrmazd and others, it conveys the same idea as Av. *yaz-* ‘to offer up, to sacrifice’. Worthy of sacrifice (Opferwürdig) is the meaning given to *yazata-*; and so we have rendered our phrase with ‘worthy of all the offerings’ which is also better and clearer from the stand-point of style. The same meaning can be applied in all the cases with or without a development or different shade here and there. I need not show this by recounting and explaining them here. On the other hand, by considering *zôhr* as mistake for *zôr* we get ‘having all the strength, all-powerful’ which will not suit so well in every place. There must have existed also *hamây-zôr* ‘all-powerful,’ as is probably the case in PXvAp. 26, 5; but the other is preferable in the ritual for the reasons given above, and especially so in the present case of ‘praise’, s. com. 3. And as to the common or usual explanations conveying union in work or merit or strength we have *ham-kâr*, *ham-kirþay*, *ham-zôr* respectively—also *êv-karday* for the last. All this shows that *hamây-zôhr* is something distinct from them.

SEVEN HEAVENS.

22. According to § 5 there are seven heavens (*vahišt*), situated at the cloud, star, moon, sun, *Har-burz* peak, infinite lights, and *garôðmân* (the House of Glow, according to Hertel IIQF 9. 10) stages. There occur also other lists of seven heavens with more or less difference but showing some characteristic relation to one another, so that we can link them together. GrBd 32. 2 ff. mentions the following stages of heaven (*âsmân*): 1. the cloud stage, 2. the firmament with zodiacal signs (*spihr i axtarân*), 3. unmixed or fixed stars (*star [i] agumêzišnîh*), 4. *vahišt*—the moon is at that stage—, 5. *garôðmân* which is called infinite light (*anayr rôšn*)—the sun is at that stage—, 6. the seat of Amašaspandân, 7. infinite lights (*asar rôšnîh*), the seat of Ôhrmazd.

23. The latter part contains serious divergences from established notions: the distinction of *anayr rôšn* from *asar rôšnîh* is contradiction in terms; and to allot two different places to Amašaspand-s and to Ôhrmazd is also unheard of. This is done also in the fuller account of the creation of the luminaries, but here too no name is given to the place, the only detail being: it is above the sun and is connected with the next, GrBd 28.14 ff.—The addition of *spihr i axtarân* as distinguished from *star i agumêzišnîh* is another new point. In the fuller account they are called *starân [i] axtariy u ân-ič i anaxtarîy* respectively, 25. 8, but later on with the other epithet, which is explained along with other details thus: when the adversary rushed on them, they were not mixed or moved, 28. 2 ff.

24. The latter distinction can be traced in the list of 'Ulama i İslâm, Riv II 74. 19: the wind, firmament (*spihr*), star, moon, and sun stages, and infinite lights (*asar rôšnî*), and *garôðmân*. In other respects, however, it resem-

bles our list, for which reason the lacuna about the sixth heaven has been supplied from it: mark here the curious orthography of *asar*. The first item is quite novel, wind instead of cloud, for which we may compare GrBd 29. 2 f. where their position is the same: *miyān* [i] *nēm spihr gumārδ vād*, *aβr u átaš vāzīst*. In any case, the new point is met with in still another list.

25. This runs: the first is *hamistān* which they call the wind stage also, then the usual star, moon, and sun stages, the rest being *garōθmān*, *pašum ax̄ān*, and *anayr rōšn*, Riv. II 58, 13 f. The origin of this list can be seen in Yt. 12. 35 ff. where *upa anayra raočā*, *upa vahištəm ahīm*, and *upa raox̄ne garōnmāne* are mentioned as three localities before which the sun, moon, and stars are similarly enumerated. It is not without interest to note that Firoz Jamasp Asa simply says that here are given the seven heavens, taking the obscure *upa haðana haðanā tansuš* in § 38 as the last one, Philosophy of the Mazdayasnian Religion under the Sasanids from the French of Casartelli, p. 186. However this may be, the Yašt itself is one of the later and corrupt compilations. From the genuine, old pieces it will be difficult to find any such distinction. The three terms in question and also others are used there indifferently as mere synonyms, cf. Y. 19. 6 where *vahištā-ahū-*, *v. aša-*, and *v. raočah-* (pl.) are used for heaven without the connecting particle *ča*. Here we see how from the three designations of heaven three heavens are concluded.

26. Also the special accounts about the passage to the other world speak of only one heaven, V. 19. 32 of *garō.nmāna-*, H. 2. 15 of *anayra- raočah-* (pl.). The latter refers first to the taking of three steps on to the *humata-, huata-, and hvaršta-*, which are considered as three heavens identical with or situated at the star, moon, and sun stages, AVn. 7. 1, 8. 1, 9. 1, 7, 10. 1 and Mx. 2. 145 ff., 7, 9 ff.

where the fourth and last heaven is called *rōšn garōθmān* or *asar rōšnh*. (The former is a *mot savant* from Av. *garô. dəmāna*—thus in the *Gādhā-s*, elsewhere *ənmāna* with the epithet *raoxšna-*, which whole phrase is retained even by Buddhist Sogdians: *rwvšn'yr̥dmnyh*.) Here we see how three other heavens came into being. Also cosmology has played a great part in the whole process; it must have suggested the inclusion of the cloud or wind stage where was then conveniently located the middle or mixed place *hamist-(ay)ān*.

27. There is another Av. source on the question handed down as a quotation from the Haðóxt nask, PT 72. 7 f., Barthelemy Gujastak Abalish, p. 55. It is given as an evidence to show that the *garōθmān* is the best of all places, and has the following wording: +žnu bərəzō nərə. *bərəzō gairi. bərəzō mānō starō mān̥hō+hvarə anayra raočā.* It is not clear whether we are to understand it in the said sense or consider it as a mere beginning or the catch-phrase of the passage that described the superiority of the *garōθmān*. In any case, the writer saw therein an enumeration of heavens when he added: *pēðāy ku, èn and gāh.....bast èstèð*; cf. also his translation:.....*aþr pāyay, star pāyay* etc. Note that the original has no word for *pāyay*, and for the doubtful *mānō* we have the ideogram of *aþr*, omitted in the NpTr. AiW 1168 does not translate the quotation. If the first words are adj. and not nouns, can we take the rest also as such, all qualifying the *anayra raočā*, and signifying that it is in all the different heights? The passage remains a puzzle.

28. Lastly, Šnš 6. 3 ff gives three grades,—*vahišt*, *pahlom ax'ān*, and *garōθmān*, and adds, that “in heaven he who is below ascends to him who is above.” The distinction between the first two is incongruous. For *vahišt* is evidently an abbreviation of Av. *vahišta-*

ahu- and *pahlom ax'ân* is the translation of the same. It may be argued that the former, being a common designation for heaven as is even now *bîhišt*, was not so special as the latter. But we have other reasons to believe that the terms were identical: in none of the lists both together are mentioned as heavens, but only singly,—*vahîst* in the GrBd and *pahlom* or *pašum ax'ân* in the Riv list. And secondly, the parallel passage in PV. 7. 52 com. gives the last two of the group in the place and with the details of the first two, thus showing that *vahîst* was the same as *pahlom ax'ân*.

29. In one point the list of our text differs from all others; it mentions the *Har-burz* stage after the sun stage. This can be confirmed from the cosmological details: the peak grew up to the star, moon, and sun stages and lastly up to the top of heaven, GrBd 76, 9 ff.—BdK 21. 14 gives: up to infinite light, but s. Zs. 7. 6: 'up to heaven'. For the description in Av. s. Yt. 10. 118, V. 19. 30, 21. 5; the second passage is variously translated, but AiW 1755 is to be preferred, for it does not contradict the view that the *Har-burz* supports the other end of the *činvat* Bridge expressed in PV. gl. to the passage, cf. also AVn. 3, 1, GrBd 199, 2 ff.

30. Lastly, we may note that the conception of the three and more heavens (and earths) is current in other systems also. But it cannot be our purpose to deal with them here; it is enough, if we point out the principal sources. For the three Indian religions we cannot do better than mention Kirfel, Kosmographie der Inder 4 ff., 40 ff., 190 ff., 210 ff. For Manichaeism s. Jackson, Researches in Manichaeism 314 ff. As to Islam, I do not just now know any special treatment of the conception, which is however quite well known.

ଶ୍ରୀ କୃତ୍ତବ୍ୟାମିନ୍ଦ୍ରିଯାମିନ୍ଦ୍ରି

ଶ୍ରୀ କୃତ୍ତବ୍ୟାମିନ୍ଦ୍ରିଯାମିନ୍ଦ୍ରି

[ଶ୍ରୀକୃତ୍ତବ୍ୟାମିନ୍ଦ୍ରି]

ଶ୍ରୀ କୃତ୍ତବ୍ୟାମିନ୍ଦ୍ରି । ଶ୍ରୀ କୃତ୍ତବ୍ୟାମିନ୍ଦ୍ରି । 1

ଶ୍ରୀ କୃତ୍ତବ୍ୟାମିନ୍ଦ୍ରି । ଶ୍ରୀ କୃତ୍ତବ୍ୟାମିନ୍ଦ୍ରି । 2

ଶ୍ରୀ କୃତ୍ତବ୍ୟାମିନ୍ଦ୍ରି । ଶ୍ରୀ କୃତ୍ତବ୍ୟାମିନ୍ଦ୍ରି । 3

[୧] ଶ୍ରୀ କୃତ୍ତବ୍ୟାମିନ୍ଦ୍ରି । ଶ୍ରୀ କୃତ୍ତବ୍ୟାମିନ୍ଦ୍ରି । 1

ଶ୍ରୀ କୃତ୍ତବ୍ୟାମିନ୍ଦ୍ରି । ଶ୍ରୀ କୃତ୍ତବ୍ୟାମିନ୍ଦ୍ରି । 2

ଶ୍ରୀ କୃତ୍ତବ୍ୟାମିନ୍ଦ୍ରି । ଶ୍ରୀ କୃତ୍ତବ୍ୟାମିନ୍ଦ୍ରି । 3

ଶ୍ରୀ କୃତ୍ତବ୍ୟାମିନ୍ଦ୍ରି । ଶ୍ରୀ କୃତ୍ତବ୍ୟାମିନ୍ଦ୍ରି । 4

ଶ୍ରୀ କୃତ୍ତବ୍ୟାମିନ୍ଦ୍ରି । ଶ୍ରୀ କୃତ୍ତବ୍ୟାମିନ୍ଦ୍ରି । 5

ଶ୍ରୀ କୃତ୍ତବ୍ୟାମିନ୍ଦ୍ରି । ଶ୍ରୀ କୃତ୍ତବ୍ୟାମିନ୍ଦ୍ରି । 6

ଶ୍ରୀ କୃତ୍ତବ୍ୟାମିନ୍ଦ୍ରି । ଶ୍ରୀ କୃତ୍ତବ୍ୟାମିନ୍ଦ୍ରି । 7

ଶ୍ରୀ କୃତ୍ତବ୍ୟାମିନ୍ଦ୍ରି । ଶ୍ରୀ କୃତ୍ତବ୍ୟାମିନ୍ଦ୍ରି । 8

ଶ୍ରୀ କୃତ୍ତବ୍ୟାମିନ୍ଦ୍ରି । ଶ୍ରୀ କୃତ୍ତବ୍ୟାମିନ୍ଦ୍ରି । 9

1-1 DP ଏହି ।; MK torn; JJ, ed. —ସି—2 Thus DP; MK torn, but s. n. 86; JJ ଅର୍ଥାତ୍ କୁଣ୍ଡଳ—3 Thus DP; MK torn; JJ ଲୁଗେନ୍. 3a All ଲୁଗେନ୍, but s. com.—4 JJ ରୂ—5. One might separate the final । and take it as the conjunction, but note that it does not occur before the next clause also.—5 JJ ରୂ—6 MK, JJ ରୂ—7. I have preferred the *plene* orthography which is very common as regards the word in question, not only because it occurs in DP, but also because I think that it is genuine; very probably it is meant to distinguish *dahśn* from *daśn* which too is the reading of the variant.—

7 JJ 耶魯; MK 耶魯 which is the full writing of the term, but it is the above given defective writing that is common.—8-8 DP 耶魯; MK, JJ, ed. 耶魯 1929 for which s. com.—9 JJ om.; MK torn, “but there is space enough for two or three words.”—10 Ed. leaves blank space with the remark “All omit some words here”; for our addition here and below s. com.—11 Thus DP; MK, JJ om. for which s. com.—12 JJ 耶魯, as all elsewhere, s. § 15a, and as often in other works.—13 JJ 耶魯; for this clause s. com.—14 Thus DP; MK 耶魯; JJ 耶魯.

۵۶ [۷] سو کست پر سو و دیگر نهاد [۸] سو کست پر سو و دیگر نهاد
 [۹] سو کست پر سو و دیگر نهاد [۱۰] سو کست پر سو و دیگر نهاد
 [۱۱] سو کست پر سو و دیگر نهاد [۱۲] سو کست پر سو و دیگر نهاد
 [۱۳] سو کست پر سو و دیگر نهاد [۱۴] سو کست پر سو و دیگر نهاد
 [۱۵] سو کست پر سو و دیگر نهاد [۱۶] سو کست پر سو و دیگر نهاد
 [۱۷] سو کست پر سو و دیگر نهاد [۱۸] سو کست پر سو و دیگر نهاد
 [۱۹] سو کست پر سو و دیگر نهاد [۲۰] سو کست پر سو و دیگر نهاد
 [۲۱] سو کست پر سو و دیگر نهاد [۲۲] سو کست پر سو و دیگر نهاد
 [۲۳] سو کست پر سو و دیگر نهاد [۲۴] سو کست پر سو و دیگر نهاد

15 JJ ୪ୟରୁ.—16 MK, JJ add ୨ୟ with **ଶ** above **ୟ**, but MK puts dots below the word to show that it is to be omitted.—17 JJ ୨ୟ.—18 JJ ୨ୟ; for the prec. **ୠ** cf. the foll. and s. AVn. I. 21.—19 JJ ୩ୟ; ed. like MK, JJ om. the prec. **ୠ**.—20 MK ୩ୟ.—21 MK ୩ୟ of which the last ¹⁰ is struck off, (i.e. leaving the same as DP); JJ ୩ୟ.
 21a All **ୠ** which does not suit the context; cf. the next !.—
 22 Thus JJ; MK ୩ୟ (i.e. the first letter is torn which must have been **୧** as in JJ); DP, ed. ୩ୟ; cf. n. 50 and s. com.—
 23 MK, JJ ୩ୟ.—24 JJ ୩ୟ.

25 DP, ed. ଏତୁଥି; MK ଏତ... ; JJ ଏତୁଥି corrected into ଏତୁଥି, which means that MK too had this latter; s. com.—
 26-26 DP କାହାରେ, of which the first is the conjunction omitted by MK, JJ; we cannot take the second, for —27 JJ କାହାରେ—ଲେ—28 JJ କାହାରେ—29 DP କିମ୍—30 MK କାହାରେ—ଲେ—31
 DP କାହାରେ—ଲେ—32 Thus DP; MK, JJ; ed. କାହାରେ—ଲେ—
 33 JJ କାହାରେ.

۱۲ سو کسے پلے یعنی وہ کسے کا سو کسے
۱۳ سو کسے پلے یعنی وہ کسے کا سو کسے

[०] ३४^b । रम्यरम्यां शुद्धं सो कृष्ण 14a

[०] सो कृष्ण रम्यरम्यां [०] 14b

० रम्यां कृष्ण सो ॥ 14c

॥ रम्यां कृष्ण सो । १६-१८ ॥ १५a

[०] विक्रमं विक्रमं विक्रमं ॥ १५b

॥ रम्यरम्यां शुद्धं सो कृष्ण ॥ १५b

० कृष्ण रम्यरम्यां शुद्धं सो कृष्ण ॥ १५c

وَسَرْجَلْ [سَرْجَلْ] 15c

34 MK, JJ om.—34a Thus all; perhaps for אָתֶה, or add
וְאָתֶה which suits the context in the best manner, s. com.—
34b Thus all; since it is not used before לְעֵד throughout
the whole portion, we have kept it here, and believe that if
it be genuine, something is missing at the point, say מִזְרָחֶךָ
מִזְרָחֶךָ, cf. com.—35 MK, JJ וְאָתֶה.

କ ॥୧ କାଳୁ । କୁମାର୍ପିତେ ଦୟା କରୁ କରୁ
କରୁ । କାଳୁ କରୁ ।

କୁମାର୍ପିତେ³⁷ କାଳୁ । କାଳୁ³⁸ କରୁଥିଲା ॥୧
କରୁ । କାଳୁ ॥୨ ହସିଲା । କାଳୁକାଳୁ ନିମ୍ନ
କାଳୁ କାଳୁ । ॥୩ କରୁ କରୁ । କାଳୁ । କାଳୁ
କରୁ ।

କାଳୁ । କାଳୁକାଳୁ³⁹ କରୁଥିଲା । ୨୯ । ୧୭a
[.] କାଳୁ

କାଳୁ କାଳୁ । କାଳୁ । ୧୭b
କାଳୁ⁴⁰ କାଳୁ । କାଳୁ । ୧୭c
କାଳୁ⁴¹ କାଳୁ । କାଳୁ । ୧୭d
କାଳୁ⁴² କାଳୁ । କାଳୁ । ୧୭e

36 Thus DP; MK, JJ, ed. କରୁଥିଲା, for which s. com.—

37 JJ କାଳୁ.—38 JJ କାଳୁ.—38a Thus all, perhaps a mistake
‘for’ as in n. 21a, 39; but s. com.—39 MK କରୁ—40 MK, JJ
କାଳୁ—41 MK, JJ କରୁଥିଲା.—42 JJ କାଳୁ.—

۱۸۶ **وَعَرَسَوْنَ** اَعْلَمَكُلْعَرَسَوْنَ وَعَرَسَوْنَ **وَعَرَسَوْنَ**

43 JJ, ed. ଶ୍ରୀମତୀ; MK, DP ଉଚ୍ଚ.—44 DP କାଳିପୁଣ୍ୟ—
 45-46 Thus DP; MK —...; JJ ——. —47 MK, JJ, ed.
 ଶ୍ରୀମତୀ—48 MK, JJ ଶ୍ରୀମତୀ—49 JJ କଥା କଥା—50—50 Thus ed.,
 with the remark about the first word: “MK torn; DP ଶ୍ରୀମତୀ”.
 Thus all MSS. agree as to the division of the words, which is
 wrong; it should be: ଶ୍ରୀମତୀ କଥା, s. com.—50a All **୧**, which
 is wrong as in n. 21a, 39; s. com.—

[०] ^{५१} शुलुप्तान् शुलुप्तान् १८४

। शुलुप्तान् शुलुप्तान् । ^{५२} १८५

[०] शुलुप्तान् शुलुप्तान् १८६

१८७ शुलुप्तान् १८८

॥३७॥ शुलुप्तान् शुलुप्तान् १९०

शुलुप्तान् शुलुप्तान् १९१

[०] शुलुप्तान् शुलुप्तान् १९२

१९३ शुलुप्तान् १९४

शुलुप्तान् १९५

[०] ^{५३} शुलुप्तान्

१९६ शुलुप्तान् १९७

^{५४} शुलुप्तान् १९८

51 DP ad. ०, which I explain thus: an original scribe might have written ० instead of ०, and ० above it by way of correction; a later one copied them both.—52 JJ ad. शुलुप्तान्.—53 Thus DP; MK, JJ om.—54 MSS. शुलुप्तान् which is due to the remaining part of ० being written very short and almost coalescent with the prec. The same mistake recurs in PT. 185 n. 61; cf. also ० for ० due to the same reason in n. 29 above and often elsewhere.—55 Thus DP; MK शुलुप्तान् corrected into शुलुप्तान्; thus both the independent MSS. agree, and yet ed. gives शुलुप्तान् of JJ.—56 JJ शुलुप्तान्, a strange mistake!—

ରେ—ଲୁହାଧୀଲ ରେ — ୨୦ 20a

[०] ଏକାତ୍ମ ମାନାଧୀଲ ଲୁହା ସ୍ଵା—ନ୍ତି । ଏକା—

ଏକା—ଲୁହା ରେ ॥⁵⁷ ଅଥ ଅଥ ॥^{58a} | ଏକାତ୍ମ—କୁଣ୍ଡ 20b

ଏକା—ଲୁହା ॥^{58b} ଏକାତ୍ମ—କୁଣ୍ଡ । ଏକାତ୍ମ—କୁଣ୍ଡ ।

[०] ଏକାତ୍ମ—କୁଣ୍ଡ

କଲେ କଲେ ଏକାତ୍ମ—କୁଣ୍ଡ ॥^{59a} ରେ ॥^{59a} 20c

କଲେ କଲେ ॥^{59b} ଏକାତ୍ମ—କୁଣ୍ଡ । ଏକାତ୍ମ—କୁଣ୍ଡ

ଏକାତ୍ମ—କୁଣ୍ଡ ॥^{60a} [।]

ଏକାତ୍ମ—କୁଣ୍ଡ ॥^{60b} 21a

56a All as one word with the foll.; if rightly so, then we must insert ' here and read the foll. as ଅଥ *vahan*; but s. com.—57 MK torn; DP om. If it be an addition of JJ, not found in MK also, then we may translate the clause without it.—

58 JJ ଏକା—58a All ଏକା which is a mistake, if not direct from ଏକା, indirect over !. Note that neither *ka* nor *ke* nor *ku* suits the context; *କୁ* alone does it.—58b All ଏକା instead of ଏକା—. It is true that ଏକା— ଏକା— occurs for ଏକା— ଏକା—, but ଏକା before ଏକା— is unaccountable: it is not the *i* used "for connecting a noun with a following noun preceded by a prep."—59 DP ଏକା—

60 Thus MK, JJ; DP, ed. ଏକା—; s. com.—60a Thus, or the prec. must be adj., for *frārōn tuxśñkīh* is very common, s. Mx. 2. 43, 47, 49, 15. 9, 11, 37. 14, 50. 4;—MÝFr. 2. 64.—61 JJ ଏକା—

62 Thus DP; MK torn; JJ ଏକା—.

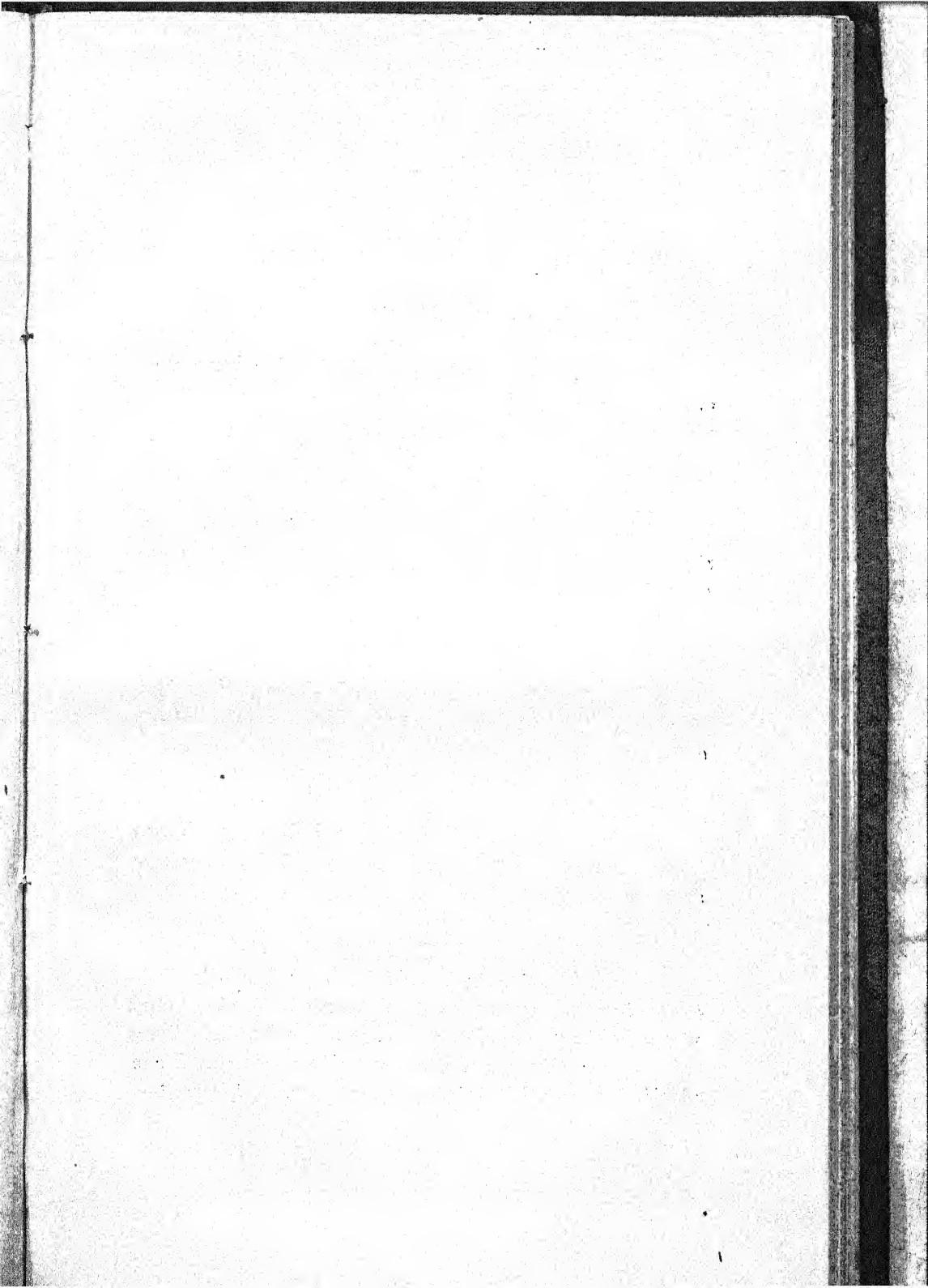
० अ३॥१०८५

० अ३॥१४५ ६६) स३॥१२७ ० अ३॥१४५ ३॥१२७ २१६

[७] ६७) अ३८५ । अ३८८८ अ३८ ॥८ ६८) अ३८८८
० अ३८८८ अ३८८८ । अ३८८८ अ३८८८

63 MK torn ; JJ om.—64 MK ~~अ३८८८~~.—65 JJ om.—

66 Thus DP; MK ~~अ३८८८~~; JJ ~~अ३८८८~~. Apparently the latter points to ~~अ३८८८~~ which is occasionally met with but ~~अ३८८८~~ is almost the rule, and ~~अ३८८८~~, ~~अ३८८८~~, can as well stand for the foll. v.



PA NÂM Î YAZDÂN

[*sûr sax'an*]

1. àbâdîh, i až yazdân u vêhân, andar har gâh u zamân guftan u angârdan sažârvâr, pa nâmcišt andar rôzgâr 1 i pa èn èvénay.

2. gôs andar dârêd, šmây vêhân [i] êdar mad êstêd, tây aþar stâyènîdârîh i èn sûr, àfrîn až yazdân, u spâs-dârîh i èn myazdaþân rây sax'an gôwêm.

3. hamây-zôhr bavâd, hamây-zôhr ôhr mazd i x'adây, kâ pa mênôyân u gêtîyân malist, kê hamây èn dâm u dahîsn dâd, padîš pânav (or: pahray) dâstâr bûd êstêd.

4. hamây-zôhr èn 7 amaþâspand, i pa garôðmân hênd: ôhr mazd u vahuman u arðavahišt u šahrêvar u spandârmad u x'ardâd u amurdâd.

5a. hamây-zôhr èn 7 vahišt, kâ pa [1000] vîrô(y)-bâlây: èvay pa aþr pâyaγ, dô pa star pâyaγ, sê pa mâh pâyaγ, čahâr pa x'aršêd pâyaγ, panj pa harburz pâyaγ, šos [pa asar rôsnîh, u] haftom pa rôšn garôðmân, i vas-rôsnîh, i hučihr, i brâzâγtom, i pur-x'arrêh, i pur-nêroa-

BY THE NAME OF GOD.

[A DINNER SPEECH]

(*Motto*)

1. It is befitting, at every place and time to speak and think of prosperity which [comes] from God and those of the light religion, especially on a day (or: in times) of this kind.

(*Introduction*)

2. Lend me your ears, you of the light religion who have come here, till (or: so that) I pronounce a speech in praise of this dinner, for blessings from God, and in thankfulness to this host.

(*First point*)

3. May become worthy of all the offerings, worthy of all the offerings—Ohrmazd the Lord, who is the greatest among spiritual beings and worldly beings, who created all these creatures and creations, [and] has been the protector and preserver thereof.

4. Worthy of all the offerings—these seven *Amašā-spand-s* (Immortal Light Beings), who are in the *garôbh-mân* [heaven]: Ohrmazd, and Vahuman, and Arda-valîst and Sahrêvar, and Spandârmað, and X'ardâð, and Amurdâð.

5. Worthy of all the offerings—these seven heavens, which are at a [thousand] men's height: [number] one at the cloud stage, two at the star stage, three at the moon stage, four at the sun stage, five at the Harburz stage, six [at the infinite lights, and] the seventh at the shining *Garoðmân*, which is very shining, which is beautiful, which is brightest, which is full of glory, which is full of

*γῆ; κὲ πέσ-γᾶς ἵ οἱρμαζδ ἵ χ'αδάγ χ'αδ, πα μὲνόγαν
χ'αδάγῆ, κὲ ἐν ἡστ ἀμάσιπαντ (or: ἵ αβαρ ἐν ἡστ
κισβαρ in which case omit the foll. '....').*

5b. [hamây-zôhr ên haft kišvar ì] arzah u savah u
.fradað-efs u vidað-efs u vôrubaršt u vôrujäršt, kê pa
mîyân x'anîras ì bâmîq, ì vas-anbâr, ì pur-marðom, ì
pur-nêwayîh.

6. hamây-zôhr âdur ì farn-bay, u âdur ì gušnasp, u
âdur ì burzên mihr, u aßârîy âdurân âtašân, ì pa dâd-gâh
nišâst êstênd;—cand hastar hamêšay-sôz, u hamêšay-
pihan, u hamêšay-zôhr bavând!

7. hamây-zôhr mihr ì frâx'-gôyôd, u srôš ì tâyîy, u
rašn ì razîst, u varhâm ì amâvand, u vây ì vêh, u vêh dêm
ì mazdayasnân, u aštâd ì frîh dûdâr [è] gêhân, u fravus ì
ašôan.

8. hamây-zôhr hamây ménôy ì mêt u vêh, kê pa 30
rôzay gâh pêdâgâyêñid êstêd.

9. hamây-zôhr šâhân šâh ì mardân pahlom (pašom).

10. hamây-zôhr pus ì vâspuhr, ì šâhân farrax'iom
dâmân pahlomtom, ì andar gêhân aßâyišnîyom,

11. hamây-zôhr vazury framâdâr, kê pa vazuryîh
vazury, u pa pâdixšâ[y]ih pâdixšâ[y], u pa-č dahisnân.

good things ; which is the court of Ohrmazd the Lord Himself for the spiritual lordships, who are these seven *Amašāspand-s* (or: ' lordship, which is over these seven A.,—or: earths' in which last case omit the foll. '[.....]').

5b. [Worthy of all the offerings—these seven regions (or earths) which are] Arzah and Savah and Fradað-efs and Vidað-efs and Vôrubaršt and Vôrujaršt, in the middle of (all) which is X'aniras the lustrous, which has many stores, which is full of mankind, which is full of good things.

6. Worthy of all the offerings—the Fire of Farn-bay, and the Fire of Gušnasp, and the Fire of Burzēn Mihr, and other (original ?) fires [and] (later ?) fires that are established in temples (or 'lawful places') ;—may they become ever-burning, and ever having food (i.e. fuel), and ever having offerings as early as possible !

7. Worthy of all the offerings—Mihr the possessor of wide pastures, and Srôš the strong, and Rašn the most just, and Varhrâm the powerful, and the good (or light ?) Wind, and the light religion of the Mazdâh-worshippers, and Aštâð the furtherer of the world, and the divine (and protective) lights of the blessed.

8. Worthy of all the offerings—all the great and good (or light ?) spiritual beings who are made manifest (=described) in the Sîh Rôžay hymn.

9. Worthy of all the offerings—the Šâhân Šâh (the king of kings) the supreme (= majestic) among men.

10. Worthy of all the offerings—the crown-prince, the most happy of princes, the most supreme of creatures (=men), the most desirable (or: accomplished, comme il faut) in the world.

11. Worthy of all the offerings—the prime minister who is grand for the grand, and authoritative for the

mêh u vêh.

12. *hamây-zôhr x"arâsân spâhaßad*; *hamây-zôhr x"arwarân spâhaßad*; *hamây-zôhr nêmrôz spâhaßad*.

13. *hamây-zôhr šahr[-dâðawar] i dâðawarân.*

14a. *hamây-zôhr mayûyân (môyân) andarzaßad u [ma(y)u]ßadân ma(y)u]ßad].*

14b. *hamây-zôhr hazâraßad.*

14c. *hamây-zôhr drôn-yâz.*

15a. *hamây-zôhr mêh u vêh kë yazdân pa ên myazd arzânîy karð.*

15b. *dahâd zûð pa x"adâyîh êrân šahr, u aßarang pa miyân bavâð, čiyôñ pa x"adâyîh i jam i šêð i hu-ramay!*

15c. *rôzgâr [i] farrax" vêhân x"êshâ râyênið; yazdân evay hazâr paðîrâð, u âfrin pa ham (or: am?) meraç, i myazdaßân, kunâð!*

16. *pa nâmcišt âfrin ên kunâð, ku aßây marðomân i x"ad tan-drust u dêr-zivisn u x"âstây pa aßrôn êðôn bavâð, čiyôñ až aßastây pêðây!—*

17a. “*ka-mân nêway siayênd, hamoyen gêtîy x"âstar, . . .*”

17b. *u hamvâr âfrin pa ên man kunâð, ku vas bavâð*

authoritative, and great and good even for the subjects.

12. Worthy of all the offerings—the commander-in-chief of the eastern quarter; worthy of all the offerings—the commander-in-chief of the western quarter, worthy of all the offerings—the commander-in-chief of the southern quarter.

13. Worthy of all the offerings—the judge of judges.

14a. Worthy of all the offerings—the chief counsellor of the priests *i.e.* [the priest of priests].

14b. Worthy of all the offerings—the chief of the thousand (body-guards).

14c. Worthy of all the offerings—the sacrificers of the *drōn* cake.

15a. Worthy of all the offerings—the great and good whom God made worthy for this feast.

(Second point)

15b. May He soon destine the country of Iran for sovereignty, and may there be splendour in its midst, as in the sovereignty of Jam the shining and of good herds!

15c. A happy day is arranged for the appropriation of those of the light religion; may God accept it [as] one thousand, and may He grant blessings upon this very (or: my?) master, the host!

16. As an express blessing may He grant this, namely: may he with his own people become so sound in body and long living and having wealth in increase, as is manifest from the *Aβastāy!*—

17a. “When they praise us well, the entire world is more delightful, (etc.).”

17b. And may He always grant blessings upon this house; namely: may there be many (and much) in this

*pa èn mân,—vas asp i ray u x'arriêh ; [vas] marôd i jôvân,
i šayênday, i hanjamanîy guftâr, i aßây vêhân ayâd ; vas
zar aßây asêm; vas ïav aßây gandom ; vas anbâr pur-né-
wayîh ; u [vas] huram u huniyây !*

17c. *baxûd nêway zamân u nêicay sâl u nêway mâh u
nêway rôž u nêwayîh až (or: nêway hâsr?) èn myazdaßân
ray vas nêicaytar!*

18a. *spâs i ôhrmard, spâs i amašâspandân.*

*u spâs âsravanân, u spâs artêstârân, u spâs vâstriyô-
şân, u spâs hutôxşân.*

u spâs âtaşân i pa gêhân.

18b. *spâs x'ângarân, u spâs huniyâygarân, u spâs
darâbânân i pa dar.*

18c. *spâs èn myazdaßân, kê èn rôzgâr andâxt u
sâxt, karð u râyênîd.*

18d. *nêway mân pihan, u staßr mân sûr, u pahlom
mân ham-rasişnîh.*

18e. *u stayişnîy—u menişnîy, gôwişnîy u kunişnîy
—spâsdâr i ažaßar spâsdârîh.*

18f. *han čiš nêst.*

19a. *bê man sax'an vêš aßâyêd guftan pêš i šmây
vêhân, ku sér hom až x'arişn, u pur hom až may, u huram
hom až râmişn.*

house,—many horses, swift and strong (or: shining); many men, young (or: brave), capable, speakers in assemblies, [worthy] of remembrance with those of the light religion; much gold with silver; much barley with wheat; many stores full of good things; and much merriment and music!

17c. May there be good time and good year and good month and good day and goodness from [all] this (or: good hour)—much better for the host !

(*Third point*)

18a. Thanks unto Ôhrmazd, thanks unto *Amašaspand-s.*

And thanks unto priests, and thanks unto warriors, and thanks unto farmers, and thanks unto artisans.

And thanks unto fires which are [established] in the world.

18b. Thanks unto the cooks, and thanks unto the musicians, and thanks unto the gate-keepers who are at the gate.

18c. Thanks unto this host, who planned and prepared, made and arranged this day.

18d. Good is our food, and grand is our dinner, and best is our meeting.

18e. And [I am] a praising (=sincere)—*i.e.* with thought, speech, and action—thanks-giver of the above [mentioned] thanks-giving.

18f. There is no other thing [to add].

(*After the dinner*)

19a. But (=well) I must further pronounce a speech before you of the light religion, that satiated am I from food, and full am I from wine, and merry am I from merriment.

19b. bê šmây vêhân stâyišn i yazdân u âfrîn tê vêhân bavanday guftan nê šâyêd.

19c. šmây vêhân [i] êdar mad êstêd, har kê vêhtar dànêd guft gôwêd;

20a. çê man har çê farrax'ihâtar—çê man ârð u jîvay (? or : kunjêd ?) u may ažaþar x'arð êstêd.

20b. x'as x'afsêd, u yazdân pa x'amr vênêd, u drust âxêzêd, u pa kâr u kirþay kardan tuxšây bavêd;

20c. çê až bun-dahišnîh tây frazâm kârîh, ôe farrax'ihâtar, kê yazdân ô pa frârônîh [u] tuxšâyîh arzânîy dârêd.—

21a. âfrîn čiyôn-am guft bê rasâd, zamîy pahnây u rôd dr[â]nây u x'arşêd bâlây bê rasâd !

21b. êdôñ bavâd, êdôñtar bavâd !

frazaft pa drôd, šâdîh, u râmišn [i] har vêhân, frârôn-kunšinân.

19b. But it is not possible to fully recite, 'O you of the light religion, the praise of God and the blessings upon those of the light religion.

19c. You of the light religion who have come here, whoever [of you] knows better may say his say ;

20a. for as to me whatever is most happy—for by me sweetmeat (or cakes) and wine are partaken of overmuch.

20b. May you sleep pleasantly, and see God in dream, and get up healthy, and be diligent in performing work and godly deeds;

20c. for, from the initial creation up to the end of action, he is the most happy, whom God considers worthy, because of his uprightness and industry.—

21a. May there come the blessings as I have uttered, may they come in the width of the earth and in the length of the river and in the height of the sun !

21b. May it be so, may it be more than so !

Finished with welfare, joy, and pleasure unto all of the light religion, the upright dealers.

COMMENTARY

1

(1) This § is so to say the motto or “text” of the speech—a suitable saying uttered before its beginning. This view is concluded from the fact that the request to attend to the oration—or the form of address—occurs in § 2, and not at the very beginning as in the case of the sermon or religious lecture in PT 51. 3. The motto contains some glimpses of literary style: the three pairs in hardly three lines are not used by chance and without purpose. Individually they occur also elsewhere, —Mx 2.88, 63. 6; 1.61, 2. 44, 5. 12, 63. 5 ; 57. 30; AVn 3. 21 ; KnS. 1. 43, 10. 16,—but not together as here. We do not know whether it is a quotation from some work or a composition of the speaker himself ; it may, but must not, be the latter because of the definite reference to the *rōzgār*, which we have dealt with above, Intr. p. 11 f.

(2) In the translation we may give *yazad* instead of God, for when the term occurs in this pair it is always so rendered in Sk. But later on the author thinks of one Supreme Being, as can be judged from the number of the corresponding verb in §§ 15b ff. — That *vēhūn* occurs for the Mazdāh-worshippers need not first be proved : it is a well known and self-evident matter. And as such it can well be an abbreviation of *vēh-dēnān*, and so I have taken it to be ; and *vēh-dēn* I have rendered with ‘light religion’, for such is the old, Arabic rendering of the term, s. my article “Middle Persian Evidence for the Avestan Conception of Fire” in Studia Indo-Iranica Ehrengabe für Wilhelm Geiger, 245 ff.; s. also App. p. 84.

(3) As to the var. *nāmčīšt* and **tīy* I may observe that both are correct, but as a rule the former is used

with *pa* as here, Mx 13. 13, 41. 10, Šnš 1. 2; the latter without it, PV all the recorded places, BdK 7. 4, PazT 84. 1 etc.

2

(1) This § is the introduction in which the speaker requests for close attention, and mentions the three points on which he wants to dwell. They are the 'praise' of the dinner, the invocation of blessings from God, and the rendering of thanks unto and also on behalf of the host,—both ideas can be expressed by the same postposition, and §§ 18a-c justify them.

(2) *gōš andar dāštan* lit. 'to keep the ears in [the matter]', cf. Np. (*dar*) *nigaridān* 'to observe'; *andar* is not mere pleonastic as may be supposed from Np. *gōš dāštan*. The latter would simply mean 'to hold the ears' which is actually done for properly catching a sound or word, and which idiom is used in Guj. also: *kān dhar-vū*, *kān dharī-ne sābhāl-vū*; cf. also *gōš pahn* or *darāz kardan* 'to make the ears wide or long' used in the developed sense 'to expect', whereas in familiar or colloquial Guj. they mean 'to hear attentively'—*kān pohlā* or *lāmbā karvū*. In the other sermon the form of address runs thus: *gōš andar dārēd pahlomihā, mārđomān kē hēd māzdayasn i kišvar, ašnavēd ān i*,..... PT 51, 3 ff.

3

(1) Here begins the first point. From the strangeness of the phraseology it should not be supposed, as is done by Anklesaria, that this is something different from the 'praise' of the dinner. He in his introduction to PT p. 51 takes the three parts thus: "the first consisting of the *hamāk-zōhar* (= co-operation, the Zoroastrian ideal of union in work), §§ 3-15; the second of

Âfrîn (= praise), §§ 16-17; and the third of *sepâs* (= thanksgiving), §§ 18-20." But in the very next sentence he gives 'blessings' for *âfrîn*, and the second part really consists of blessings and not of praise. Therefore it must be the first part that treats of the praise. There is little doubt that the speaker meant this *hamây-zôhr*-portion when he referred to the praise of the dinner, *stâyêniôârîh i sîr*. The only thing is that we are not to take this in our material, usual sense of the term. The praise as we understand occurs later on in § 18d, but that is merely coupled with the third part, or rather said in support of thanksgiving unto the host. The author could not have meant it as the first point of his speech. The real praise according to him consisted in the feast being offered to and accepted by Ôhrmazd and others enumerated up to § 15a, by—to speak in the style of old Zoroastrian divines—spiritual and worldly worshipful ones, the latter being here the pillars of the state. And the idea of offering comes out from the meaning and significance of *hamây-zôhr*, which we ascertained above, Intr. pp. 21-24.

(2) The change of *bavêð* into *bavâð* is made in accordance with the parallel passages, PazT 82. 11, 86, 19, 91. 3. I do not think that we are to leave *bavêð* and translate 'is or are' with reference to Ôhrmazd etc., nor 'may you be' with reference to the audience as in PazT 98. 2 ff., Tirandâz 239. The mistake is not rare; it recurs in § 17c also. If the explanation *bêd ya'ni bûd* in the glossary published by Sachau, Beiträge zur Zor. Lit. 38. 12 f. refers to some dialectal change, then the mistake can be attributed to it. By adopting our view, the style or syntax may look strange because of the repetition of *hamây-zôhr*; but it is not wrong, cf. the similar use of *vas* in § 17b.

After Ôhrmazd the seven Amešāspand-s are remembered, Ôhrmazd Himself being one of them. Elsewhere we read that after creating the six He created Himself as the seventh, *7-om x^oaδ ôhrmazd* GrBd 13, 14 f., 14. 10. This popular way of putting things must appear rather strange, but cf. the original conception in the Gâñjâ-s as explained by Maria Smith, Studies in the Syntax of the Gathas §§ 18 ff., especially 18 where *ahura*- is said to occur like *asa*- etc. in the sense of an aspect term also, and not only in that of 'Lord'. This means the same thing when Ôhrmazd is thought of as the Lord and Creator on the one hand and as one of the Amešāspand-s on the other. As to their abode being the *garô. nmâna-* we have a direct evidence in V. 19. 32 etc. This again is the popular statement of what is poetically suggested in the Gâñjâ-s: "the names of all the aspects, except *mazdâh*, can be used as synonyms of Paradise, presumably because in Paradise the soul will experience as full a realization of the divine perfections as it is capable of enjoying. Compare the similar Christian doctrine of the beatific vision", Smith, ibid. § 17. The explanation given here is based upon the Christian notion; our explanation would be that the union of the soul with the divinity, expressed by one of the aspect terms, is hinted at. However this may be, the Amešāspand-s are closely associated with Ôhrmazd, not so the Yazaδ-s. The reason is to be found in their origin and history. The Yazaδ-s were nature and special gods of different tribes from whom they were incorporated in the Zoroastrian pantheon later on, whereas the concept of Amešāspand-s was the innovation of the prophet, and so it has preserved its special position, however changed and developed it may have been.

As to the meaning of *aməša-spənta-* 'immortal light beings', s. Hertel Beit. 129 ff. to which I have added a further proof from Russian *svyetit* 'light, not dark,' s. my article "An Iranian Text on the Act of Dreaming" in Festschrift M. Winternitz 263.

5a

The question of the seven heavens is fully discussed in Intr. pp. 25-28, but there are some expressions in this § which require elucidation.

(1) The heavens are said to be at or in Y¹³⁰, in Mk, JJ and Y¹³¹, in DP. Let it be added here that the older pronunciation of the second word was *balað*, as now proved by MpPs. Thus falls to the ground my former objection to the suf. *āð*, although its origin remains still doubtful, cf. Šnš Intr. § 9. The meaning is unequivocal—'height' from which one can easily judge that the first word in DP is *vīr* 'man'. Height as well as other dimensions are commonly expressed in terms of a man or an animal or their limbs; but 'at a man's height' is not so convincing, and therefore something else can have been meant, especially when there is a variant. This in its turn means 'strength' with which we cannot proceed. Fortunately, however, the same term with *maz* is used for Av. *vīro mazārəho* in FRO 18. 10, showing that it is a transcription, *vīrō(y)*, of the Av. equivalent. Though this is the only case of the kind and even in the corresponding phrase *vīr* alone is used, we need not doubt the identification. The other reading *nērōk*, suggested by Bartholomae also, AiW 1455, cannot be accepted, unless its sense be 'pertaining to a man' which is not possible.—The term is usually derived from **naryava-* 'manliness', Av. *nairyā* 'manly,' but Nyberg

Hb 2. 156 gives quite a different ety. *niyatravaka-, yat- 'to be active'.

Thus both the readings mean 'a man's height' which is too little—or are we to identify it with *nərəbarəzō* in the obscure passage discussed above? Leaving this point open we may for the present suppose that some numeral figure is missing, say 1000 which is used to express the greatest height, s. Yt. 5. 96 where the Arədvī is said to flow from the height of a thousand men *hazaiərāi barəšna vīranqm* for which GrBd 77. 11 (BdK 22. 11) has 1000 *mard būlāy*. The exact parallel *hazaiərō-vīra-* occurs in Yt. 14. 29 for expressing the greatest depth; and lastly *hazār vīr bālā* was the iron palace of Afrāsiyāb, Aog 61.—A different and detailed account of the distance between different stages of heaven is given in PRiv 129 15 ff.

(2) ڦء This ideogram of 'cloud' like a couple of others is not included in FrP, though it occurs in other places: PV 8. 7 com., AZ 38 (but s. Geiger p. 53 n. 24), and FrO 22. 4 for Av. *aþra-*. The latter may be sufficient to suggest the Iranian reading, but as a further proof we may add that the parallel of PV 8. 7 com., Šnš 2. 10, uses *aþr* itself, and so also the GrBd parallel to our passage. I refer to all this, for Pagliaro in his AZ reads the ideogram as *vārānak* (s. JA. 1932, p. 265), probably because of the corresponding ideogram ڦء = *vārān* 'rain'. Of course, *aþr* will not suit the metre ascertained by Benveniste JA. 1932 p. 245 ff., but this point, to my mind, is not finally settled. There is also another word used for Av. *maeyā-* 'cloud' PY 10. 3 (6) and 'pit, hole' PV 13. 37; if correct, it can be *mēzñāy* from *mēzidān* wherein the two similar words for 'to rain' and 'to pass urine' have fallen together, as in Sk. *mih-*.

(3) *asar rōśnīḥ* 'infinite lights'. This addition is suggested by Anklesaria also; and we have supported it from other lists, especially from Riv II 74. 19;—*pāyay* has been left out by me, since it is not used with this term there. As to the nature of these lights we may observe that *x^oaḍāta-* is their common epithet, s. AiW 1862, and in PV 2, 40 there is a quotation that they shine upwards, whereas the others shine downwards: *vispa anayra raočā usča usraočayeiti vispa stiḍāta raočā aora araočayeiti.....* The statement that both of them shine in the *vara-* made by Yama shows that Hertel's view of the *vara-* being the heavenly globe—and not something subterranean—is correct. Then *stiḍāta-* '(for) the creation created or ordained' refers to the sun, moon, and stars mentioned in the same paragraph; and *x^oaḍāta-* 'self-created or ordained, independent' to the others, *anayra-*, which might therefore have a similar sense, 'without a head or chief' rather than 'without a beginning'. Our *asar* too can have both these meanings, hence 'infinite' in a wider sense.

(4) *गेतु गेतु* Mark the orthography *गेतु* for *गेतु* which is added to *brāz-* (*brāziḍan*) 'to shine'. This formation occurs in MpT and there is no other explanation. *गेतु* for *गेतु* recurs also elsewhere, e.g. the same word in PT 138. 16, and *गेतु* for *गेतु* *pāyay* in PRiv 129. 15ff. This shows that Nyberg is wrong when he reads *गेतु* *gētāh* which one cannot explain, Hb. 2. 9; it is simply *gētā* or *gēṭā*, if we want to take it as a *mot savant*, a mere transcription of Av. *gaēθā-*, for *गेतु* too is met with. The ordinary *gētū* is from Av. **gaēθyaka-* 'material (world, being, etc.)' like *mēnōy* Av. **mainyavaka-* 'spiritual (world, being, etc.)' Note that this occurs in MpT II; and *gētih* or

gēθih (Av. **gaēθyaθwa-*) in Syr.—Our term is written
ց-ըսր in all the five places in AVn 12, 2, 9 etc.
 Recently Baily BSOS 7. 79 has ascertained a suf. -*dâk*
 here and in some other words; but it can be compared
 with *barazyâd* for (?) *brâzâd* ‘may it shine’ PazT 100.
 22 f., Tîrandâz 250.

(5) **पुरारेह** The nearest reading is *pur-^arrēh*. It is a suitable epithet of the *garōθmān* and is actually met with as such in Mx 7. 14 where as usual the ideogram is used. The only doubtful point is the orthography which is variously given, s. FrP *1. 3 f.—that in ms. S resembles the present one, the only difference being ' for **र**'. This uncertainty is very probably due to the fact that the Iranian term is not used in the texts; only the ideogram is common. As to the reading *xv^arrēh* (which is demanded by the present orthography also), as opposed to *x^arrah* in Np, s. Bartholomae MirM 5. 20 n. 1. One of the numerous pronunciations recorded in Np dictionaries is also *xurīh*.

Other conjectures are also possible: the word can be a mistake for *ပျော်ရေ* *pur-farrax*^{ih} 'full of happiness' occurring in a similar context in AVn 15.21, or for *ပျော်ဆုနကို* *pur-xunakih* occurring in MpT, *xunakii* 'happiness', and in MpPs, *xunakə* 'happy'.

(6) The next clause requires some explanation. I have taken *pēš-gāh*, which seems to be rare, in the sense of *dar*, in Np also *dar-gāh*, 'royal court', in order to justify *pa mēnōyān x^vadāyīh* 'for the spiritual lordships'; that is, Ôhrmazd holds His court there. (If DP has wrongly inserted *pa*, say for *u*, then we need not take this special meaning; but *pa* is necessary for the alternative interpretation also.) The idea of their common

abode is not new, nor its comparison with the royal court, s. MYFr 2. 57ff; and even some sort of court arrangement can be observed in GrBd 163. 1 ft. Ôhrmazd sits, the next three Amešāspand-s stand on His right side, the last three on His left, and Srôš before Him. (Mark the inclusion of Srôš who also plays a part in the last struggle just as the other seven, GrBd 227. 4ft. = BdK 76. 6ft.) It is for this reason and also because Ôhrmazd *i x'adây* is a fixed phrase that I did not adopt 'Ô. who is the Lord even among the spiritual lordships' which idea is not strange, cf. DkM 187. 2 translated in my article "Pahlavi Passages on Fate and Free Will" in ZII 8. 120.

(7) - The one objection that can be raised is that there is *x'adâyih* and not *x'adâyân*. But *-ih* is used as a pl. suf. just as *-ân*, s. my Šns p. 162, also in our text § 11; moreover, the common phrase *x'arrêh i x'adâyih* can mean the "glory" of kings as well as of kinghood, cf. *kayân x'arrêh ân i aþây hôšangx'adâyân...*; *êrân x'varrêh ân i êrânayân*, *ê[ñ]rβað x'arrêh ân i âsravân*, GrBd 162. 7 ft. If however we have to take *x'adâyih* as lordship or sovereignty as usual, we must change the following *kê ên haft amašāspand* into *aþar ên haft kišvar* 'upon these seven regions', and then the names as they are without any addition on our part. We have to suppose that *ss* was changed into *ss* and then into *ñ*, and that *amašāspand* was written instead of *kišvar* in reminiscence of the same phrase in § 4. This is rather far-fetched, although as to the idea we may compare GrBd 163. 1 f. *x'ad nišinêð pa ân i asarə rôšnîh, u pâyêð ménôy u gêtîy dâmân*, and suggest that the common phrase *x'adâyih i haft kišvar* was transferred from the political and worldly sphere into the religious and spiritual one, which phenomenon is not rare.

5b

But I have preferred to leave the text as it is and to make the more natural addition about the seven earths or regions, which may well be remembered after the seven heavens. They are so treated in the parallel texts, PazT 88. 15 ff., 100. 5 ff., where even mountains and rivers, and periods are remembered before them, but not heavens. We may note that West mentions the regions as an item of remembrance, not so Anklesaria whose real view, however, we do not know.—For the orthography cf. PV 19. 39 especially ms. IM and Mx 16. 10. In ~~ue^āe~~ etc. the diacritical mark is wrong: ~~a~~ is not *d* but simply *e* = *a*.

Looking to the various obscurities to which we may add the use of 'one, two, etc.' instead of 'first, second, etc.', and considering the later conception of seven heavens one might suppose that the whole of § 5 is an interpolation.

6

(1) About the mythical and legendary account of the three fires mentioned here, s. GrBd 124. 2 ff. (BdK 40. 15 ff. does not contain the later part), Zs 11 8 ff. Originally they were in the form of *x'arrēh*; and the first of them is even called after it—mark the specific OP term *baya* in *bay* and there used but borrowed from the Median dialect form in *farn*; Av. form of the latter is also used, s. GrBd 124. 14, PazT 100. 8, Tirandaz 248. Later on they received the material fire as their bodies, but their souls retained the original substance. Such is the case with *ātaš i varhrān* also, GrBd 125. 14 f., 126, 8 f., but the use of a different word, *ātaš* and not *ādur*, shows that this cult might have had a different origin, cf. Hertel IIQF 7. 148 and my review thereof in-

OLZ 1933 col. 568. The mention is made of both the terms in parallel texts, PazT 82. 14, 91. 3, 100. 9 and also in AVn 14. 12, and so it is probable that they were distinguished in those days; but the nature of distinction is nowhere made clear (the suggestion about physical and figurative fires, CamaMemVol. 239, does not suit); therefore it is also probable that the terms are used as a mere doublet, as is the case with *giyây u gâh* in GrBd 123, 10 (BdK 41. 3) and therefore in 2. 14 (1. 7) also. I also thought of taking the phrase *âdurân âtašân* as 'fires belonging to the (*yazað*) *Âdur*', but other passages went against it.

(2) *čand hastar* 'as early as possible.'—*čand* with the comparative or superlative has this force; cf. ...*čand + vêsist âþ hixt, u čand škifttar pa zanišn aþar vârânêñîð* 'he (Tištr) drew up the water as much as possible, and caused it to rain with pelting as severely as possible' Zs 6. 12. (The original has *vêšdast* 'as many handfuls,' but *dast* does not occur as 'handful' nor there is any occasion for it. Instead of 'severely' one may say 'miraculously,' but s. my Šnš 10. 8 n. 1 where the former meaning is ascertained.) Subsequently I have found that Bartholomae has already noted this construction with *čand* in a number of other passages, MirM 3. 20 n. 1 etc.

(3) *hamêšak pihan*: 'ever having food or meal': The ed. prefers *yazišn* of DP; if it be genuine, the phrase would mean 'ever having worship.' But I think that it is nothing but a misleading orthography of *pihan* as elsewhere, s. my Šnš 5. 3 n. 1. As to the idea, cf. *daityô-piðwi. buyâ...âtarš* Y 62. 2, Ny 5. 8, and the interesting quotation in FrO 33. 3 ff.: *pa sakâdom gówêð ku "vri-piðwô zî asti âtarš ahurahe mazdâ hama, bi-piðwô aiwi-gâme; aða nara ašavanô"* cè 3 *pihan ast âtaš i*

ôhrmazd [pa] hamin (☞ 'ka' is a mistake for ☞), *dô pa damastân*; *êðôñ marð i ašô*.

While dealing with *sîr* above we have seen that only two meals—morning and evening—were common in those days; but here we learn that three meals were necessary in summer, evidently because the day was much longer, s. Šns Intr. 15. Since the principal reference is to fire, one might expect that it is to be fed often in winter, but we see here that it was supplied with fuel as many times only as the food was prepared.

7

(1) The *yazað-s* remembered here are not put together at random, but they form a distinct group in other places also. All of them help the soul in its passage to the other world, AVn 5, 2 ff.; and with the exception of Good Wind they come to the assistance of Peštan Vyt 3, 32. In both the cases *x²arrêh i dêñ* is used instead of *vêh dêñ*,—AVn adds also *i vêh* and *vêh dêñ* has become a common appellation,—but still if we want to bring the latter in conformity with the former, we may read *vêh[i] dêñ* 'the light of the religion.' This will then supply another proof for my contention about Hertel's theory on the Aryan conception of fire, s. my article in Studia Indo-Iranica, Ehrengabe für W. Geiger and also that in Festchrift M. Winternitz, p. 262. com. 9 (a).

(2) ☞ is a transcription of Av. *gaoyaoti* = *gav-yûti*; the same form is used in Vyt 3. 32, whereas ☞ is common in PY.

(3) I have preferred ☞ to ☞ of DP which ed. has adopted, for I consider the latter to be a clerical mistake due to the common word *râst*. This has happened also in PY 65. 12 (64, 51) which as a rule gives the correct form, s. 1. 7 (23), 2, 7 (29), 3. 9 (37), 7. 9 (29)

where sometimes the explanation *rāst* is added, showing that the other, from Av. *razišta-*, was not so common in Mp.

(4) *vāy* 'Wind' or its spirit is distinguished in Mp with the epithets *vēh* and *vattar* according as its activity is good or bad. Thus, for instance, PV 5. 8 f. adds *vattar* to Av. *vayu-* which carries away the man bound by *astō-vidālu-*, cf. GrBd 186. 12 ff. where the two seem to be identified. These epithets are not used in Av., therefore it is perhaps not proper to render *vēh* by 'light' in this case. However, even there only that part of *vayu-* is worshipped or considered worthy of sacrifice which belonged to *spēta-mainyu-* 'the light spirit'—*aētāt tē vayō yazamaide yat tē asti spēntō mainyaom.* Y 25. 5, Yt 15. 0 etc. This might suggest that *vēh* here is used in the sense of 'light' in spite of its opposite *vattar* 'bad, worse.' In any case, the quotation shows that there was also another part of *vayu-* which did not belong to 'the light spirit'; and hence one *vayu-* did both the functions, good and bad; it is not necessary to speak of two distinct *vayu-* as in AiW 1358.—*vāy* is also identified with *rām*, but we do not know why.

As to *fravaš* 'divine (and protective) light' s. my article "An Iranian Text on the Act of Dreaming" (com. 11) in Festschrift M. Winternitz, p. 263 f.

After the special mention of the principal *yazad*-s follows the general reference to all of them described in the *Sīh Rōzāy* 'hymns'. It is thus that we have interpreted *gāh* which as a rule occurs for the *gāθū* chapters only; but cf. the use of *srūd-gāhān* in DdA 19. 4 with that of *yast-kard* in Šnš 6. 3; and in Dd 51. 9, 79. 7 the former refers to the Av. in general. This is not a

direct proof for our meaning; but it will not be correct to translate the phrase 'in the period of thirty days', for there is nothing to support it in the account of the creation, GrBd 13. 13 ff.

9

Here begins the list of worldly worthies, the King of Kings being naturally the first. He is remembered in one of the parallel texts, PazT 88. 14, Riv 404. 14 where *dāinvad* shows that the piece had a Pahlavī original, it being a mechanical and wrong transcription of *rv̄s̄v̄*. —The epithet *mardān pahlom* is used along with *anōśay* for Šāhpuhr II in Pers. II 5, s. Paik 122. The orthography there is different, *p'rsvmy*, *parsom* = *parðom*, cf. *parðama* in Parthian names, etc. in PSt 208, and not Op *frāðama* as Herzfeld says, Paik 230. This is the S form with *s* for *š*. Other details in App. p. 84.

10

(1) *pus i vāspuhr* I have translated with 'crown-prince (heir apparent)' to suit the context; and I believe that it can be also otherwise justified. Literally, Av. *visô.puðra-* means 'the son of the castle' and might refer particularly to the eldest son who inherits the castle after the death of his father. This is perhaps the reason why it is translated by *vispus pað*—with an extra *pað* 'chief' in PV 7. 43. As to *vāspuhr* beside *vispuhr* there is nothing to justify Herzfeld's view that the former is a Pahlavik or N form and the latter a Parsik or S one, Paik. 157, 170. The correct explanation is that *vispuhr* is derived from the noun base, and *vāspuhr* from the adj. one, as the *vrddhi* form shows, cf. Bartholomae WZKM 25. 252 f. This distinction can be observed and accepted in all cases where the terms occur; for another clear adj. use of *vāspuhr*, s.

Bailey BSOS 7. 72, elsewhere we have to see pl. adj. as pl. noun in *vāspuhrayān*, which itself is used as a pure adj. base with suf. -tar, -tom, and -ihā in later writings, DkM 292. 1 ff., 413. 21, DdA 36. 28.

(2) ፲ is the defective orthography of *śahān* occurring also elsewhere, though we have the proper or full one just above. There is no other suitable reading; and as to the meaning, it can refer only to other princes, sons etc. of the reigning king. We have the evidence that "the natives call.....the sons of the king *Sha-yé* (*Shāh*)" from a Chinese account of Persia in the sixth century, K. Hori SpMemVol. 248. Then *śah* was the title reserved for the governors coming from the royal family only.

(3) For *dāmān* = people s. AVn 15. 12, 33. 6, and especially PT 133. 16 *hamist dāmān ômēdēniðār*.

11

The prime minister is the only exception who is remembered along with the King of Kings in one of the parallel texts, PazT 88. 15 (Riv 404. 14); others are not mentioned there.

Here too I have taken -ih as a pl. suf. in order to preserve the similarity of the idea which is unequivocal in the last phrase *pa-č dahišnān mēh u vēh*, where -č 'even, also' shows that the preceding must be grasped in a like manner, and not 'who is grand through grandeur' etc.— As to *dahišnān* = subjects, s. MYFr 3, 94 *pādixśah ān nēwaytur i.....dahišn ayārih aþāy* '[As to] kings, that is the best with whom is (=who gives) help unto the subjects', unless *dahišn ayārih* means 'help of destiny'.

12

The three commanders-in-chief of the three quarters of the empire are mentioned here; but the fourth, that of

the north or Ādurβādayān, is omitted,— whether by mistake of a copyist or by motive of the author we cannot say. But very probably the former, for we nowhere read of the independence and separation of that quarter from the empire, rather it was its great stronghold. Its most common and official name was from the principal province Ādurβādayān, and not from the cardinal point as in the case of the other three, s. Šē 2, 21, 34, 58 with my remarks thereon in OLZ 1926 col. 883 ff. and in the forthcoming study on the text; 56 mentions an Ādurβādayān *spāhaβād* by name, Ěrān-gušasp. The institution of four commanders-in-chief for the better consolidation of the empire was the innovation of Xusrav I, before whose reign the military command over the whole empire was under one man titled ērān-spāhaβād, Nöldeke, Tabari 155. This fact provides the upper limit for the composition of our speech.

13

¹⁹⁵⁰ of the mss. we may well propose to change into ¹⁹⁵⁰ to suit the context. West in his notice on the text renders the phrase “the district judges” GIrPh 2.114; that is, he read the word in question as *šahr*, but then the following *i* must be omitted, and the item is not quite in consonance with the list. Our correction fulfils this condition, the judge of judges or the supreme judge being one of the highest officials. The title seems to be rare, Bartholomae does not mention it among the grades of judges, ZSR 4. 28 f., but I have found it used once, DkM 713.7. Another and still easier correction is ¹⁹⁵⁰ having the same meaning ‘judge’; cf. *kādāy x²adāyān u dādāyān* AVn 15. 10. and Np *dādak*, *uk*, better *ik* ‘lord chief justice’ (used along with ‘minister’ in the verse quoted by Vullers). But Salemann

GIRPh 1. 278 has declared the formation of the word doubtful, we might therefore suggest *dādīγ*, Np *dādīg*=*xudāvand* i *dād*. But "ευ is correct, s. App. p. 85,

14

(1) In Syr. *muy[ān]-andarzbað* is explained to be "Ordner der Magerschaft"—organiser, supervisor, of the priests; and in Arm. *handerjapet* means 'manager, chief' which meaning can well be applied in *der anderjapet* and *Sakstan anderjapet* also: I do not see any difference in the use of the term as done by Hübschmann, ArmGr 99, 179. On the contrary, the usual translation 'teacher, instructor' will be quite unsuitable in the last case which is certainly the name of the country, and according to Herzfeld even *der, dar* is Ctesiphon and *vāspuhrakān* Ispahān, Paik 152, 170, 225. He takes the term in question to be 'the minister of education', but such an office hardly existed in those days.

(2) In the present case 'chief councillor (*andarz* 'counsel, advice'), leader' of the priests is meant, perhaps the same as *mayuβadān mayuβað* who is expected in the list. From the occurrence of *u* we have also concluded that this title was originally in the text; and since the order of enumeration and the grade of the titles could not be reconciled, I have taken *u* = 'i.e.', not 'and', s. 18e. The two dignitaries are actually identified in ZsA 23. 5:...*ažaβar hamāy mayūyān andarzaβað è mayuβadān mayuβað è pēdūyēnið* (West, SBE 47. 162 gives 'spirits', that is, he read *mēnōyān* instead of *mayūyān*, which is wrong; perhaps we have to take the first *è* to be i 'who', and omit the second one as one ms. does); although they are distinguished in PY 1 (8, 11, 14, 17, 21) and 7 (14, 17, 20, 23, 27) where the first or lowest rank *gōkās* i *vāvar* of ZsA is not given, and hence this difference. Moreover, *dādawar* is

mentioned last, but the whole passage must be the first, for it refers to the *ušahina-* period of the day and *nmânya-* which must precede the *hâvani-* and *vîsyâ-* as elsewhere, cf. the regular order *nmâna-* 'house,' *vîsa* 'clan,' etc. Then the list will bear a close resemblance to the division of the Sasanian clergy into judges, priests, supervisors of temples, and teachers given in the Letter of Tansar, as has been observed by Darmesteter JA. 1894 p. 518. Yet this does not prove that our term meant simply 'teacher'. Note also in MhD 57. 12, 59. 10 it is the title or office of a legal authority, suggesting that it signified 'leader' or the like; so also in MhDA 15. 14, 37. 11.

14b

The office and title of *hazâraþâð* can be traced up to the Achaemenian period, it being preserved by Greek authors. The chief of the king's body-guards was no doubt an important personage. In Arm. this title is applied to a prime minister, from which it is concluded that that was his earlier designation, s. Christensen EmpSas 32, but not so under the Sasanids as Herzfeld says, Paik 188. Note that the prime minister himself uses the common title, cf. also the other meanings in Arm., ArmGr 174, 182. Arabic histories do not mention *hazâraþâð*, but I am inclined to compare the titles *hazârmard* and *hazârbanda*, Nöldeke Tabari 230, 284, Christensen EmpSas 32, 100;—s. App. p. 87f. The rest of the ministers are omitted in our text, namely the chief secretary (*dabîrbeð*) and the chief tax collector or finance minister (*vâstriôšânsûlär*, *vâstriošbeð* or *hutuxšbeð*), Nöldeke Tabari 444 f., Christensen EmpSas. 19, 30.

14c

drôn-yâz 'drôn cake sacrificer, performer of the drôn cake ceremony' is a rare word; for its formation

cf. *dēv-yazak* etc. in my Šnš 8. 4 n. 5 besides which *dēv-yaz* is clearly recorded in PazT 89. 15,—from *daēva-yāzō*, the only form met with in Av. (West and Anklesaria seem to have read *drōn yāb, yāftan* ‘to obtain’, to judge from their “partakers” and “participants of the *dariūn*.”) We do not think that this office is mentioned here as that of honour and eminence as in the preceding cases; we may rather connect it with the following § where the participants in the *myazd* or sacrificial feast are referred to. This is done in a parallel text, cf. **ki pa im myazd rōšasnīdār* (? *dariūn yaštār*?) *u yazišn kardār* **u myazd rāyēnīdār ēdar yād bād*, PazT 85. 4f., Riv 403. 6; cf. PazT 92. 10 f., Riv 391. 8 f. where the doubtful word does not occur.

15 a

It is not clear whether we are to take *arzāndī* in the technical sense of a Mazdāh-worshipper or in the general sense of ‘worthy.’ The former is very common, hence also the gloss *arzānī behādn u ašō rā gūyānd*, Sachau, Beiträge zur Zor. Lit. 38. 4f. But here as in PY 8 which too deals with the partaking of the *myazd*, the term may well signify ‘worthy’ among the followers of the faith, non-hypocrite.

15 b

(1) The editor has wrongly included this and the following in § 15. West too can be said to have done the same, since he includes the *zōt* (which word we interpret differently) and the master of the house among the worthies remembered with *hamāy-zōhr*. But this is not correct. The *hamāy-zōhr* portion, which forms the first point of the speech, is finished with the general mention of the congregation. And now begins the second point of invoking blessings. First of all, the speaker thinks

of the whole country of Iran. We know from Herodotus 1. 132 that "It is not permitted him to ask for good things for his own private use who sacrifices; but he makes petition for good to befall the whole Persian people and the king, for he also is counted with the whole Persian people." There is also preserved "an excellent prayer" for the king in the extant Avesta to be recited in the *āfrīnayān* ceremony, A. 1. 8ff. One of the Mp counterparts, the *āfrīn i myazd*, which bears great resemblance with this second part of our text, contains a passage wishing welfare and victory to the Iranian army, PazT 103. 11 ff.

(2) West has taken *zōt* to be *zōt* 'officiating priest,' but no satisfactory sense can be derived thereby. Anklesaria has read it as we: *zūd* 'soon, quickly', but his summary is quite different: "He may soon restore to the faithful the sovereignty and the throne of Irān-shahr." This idea I fail to see in the original; otherwise it would give us a lower limit as to the date of our piece.—At the first sight it seems that *dahād* is 'may He give (or the like)' and that some direct object is missing, the indirect one being *pa x'adāyih [i] ērān-šahr*. This can hardly be *zōt*—the wish would appear too strange even from the priestly stand-point. So I thought of its correction into *zōr* 'strength' which suits the context, and moreover the same terms as here form a pair in MpT, *zāvar ud abarang* M 32 v 5. But I have preferred to translate the text as it is, the purport being that Iran may get the sovereignty of the world, *x'adāyih i haft kisvar*, a pious wish, not to say a pious phrase. Anklesaria might have thought of adding *ēmā* 'us' after *pa*, taking the rest as a direct object; or he might have taken *pa miyān* in the next clause to mean 'in [our] midst', for both of which there is little justification.

(3) As to his 'throne' for *aþarang*, let it be noted that in Mp the term means only 'majesty, grandeur, etc.' as far as I have seen, PT 133. 4, 7 ff., 134. 1 and the parallel text, PazT 100. 22, Tirandaz 250 where it is used with reference to the audience or congregation.

15 c

(1) Before the speaker proceeds with the invocation of blessings on the host, he prays for God's acceptance of the celebration of the day, that is, of offerings etc. made on the occasion. I have preferred to take *farrax* 'happy' with *rōzgār* 'day' by inserting the connecting *i*; for I thought this better than to leave it with *vēhān* 'those of the light religion'. Then I have changed *šān* 'they' into *yazdān* 'God'; because the enclitic pronoun cannot be used in such a case; if 'they', the faithful, were meant we should have *ašān* or *oēšān*; but such is not the case at all: the verb is in the singular number, and above all, the speaker wanted to invoke blessings from God and not from the faithful. It may be supposed that there is some contradiction in the two clauses, and to avoid it one may change *šān* into *šāv* in the first clause. But then the term is repeated which is still worse. The idea is that the day is celebrated for the appropriation, that is, benefit of the coreligionists, or to speak technically, for *ham-kirþay*, cf. PazT 91. 18f., Riv 391. 3 where the matter refers to the departed. As to its thousand-fold merit, we have a parallel *yak az mā hazār padīraftār bād* which occurs in the abbreviated portion, PazT 106. 23 (s. 153. 3), Riv 395. 1 (s. 356. 4).

(2) For *ham* 'this very' note that 'the same' would not suit the context, as the master is not mentioned just above. A similar use is found in Ck 12 where *ham* *čim rā.....či* refers to the cause or reason mentioned below

and not above, and hence must be translated 'for this very reason.....that', though here 'the same' would not convey a different notion. It might be supposed that 'also, even' would be better, but this meaning I have nowhere met with in Mp, although it is very common in Np. Moreover, *ham* should in that case precede *pa* or follow *mēray*, but cannot stand between them. Lastly, we may read it *am* 'my'. This word is written 𐏃 and not 𐏁 in Šnš 5. 4, 6, PRiv 47. 12 ff.; but the distinction is not observed in PV, and so we may overlook it here. There is however no justification for this in the speech, whereas the repeated use of *ēn myazdaβān* supports *ham.....my*. Note the unique use of *mēray* like Mr., *akā* (âyâ). For the special meanings of this term s. my Šnš 8, 14 n 13.

16

The common blessings of health, wealth, and long life recur in the parallel text also, PazT 101. 19, Tirandâz 252. The Avesta referred to can well be the formula *ahmāi rāsčā* from Y 68. 11, recited together with its Mp version on similar occasions, s. PazT 103. 15 ff., Tirandâz 282 ff. But the quotation in § 17 is not to be traced there.

17a

That this is a quotation can be judged from *stāyēnd* 'they praise' : it is uttered not by the worshippers but by the worshipped. We should have liked to include the following also in this quotation, but the verbal form is *kunād* 'may he do' and not *kunēm* 'we do'. Such incomplete quotations giving merely the beginning, irrespective even of the sense, are not exceptions but the rule, and so I have left the text as it is.

17b

(1) This I have separated for the reason just given. It contains the particulars as to what wealth may come

into the house of the host. The wish for horses or cattle in general and for sons is very common, not so the other details.

(2) *ray* and *x^rarrēh* as epithets of the horses are rather strange; if at all, they should be *rayōmand* and *x^rarrēhōmand*. If the connecting *i* is a mistake for *u* as very often, then these words are substantives, but they disturb the logical order of other things wished here. I have therefore thought of another solution based on the belief that *ray* is a different and rare word and not the same as Av. *rayi-* 'pomp, riches'. That other *ray* is to be derived from Av. *rayav-, rava-* 'easy moving, swift' used of chariots and gods; *ravat-aspa-* and *ranjat-aspa-* 'having swift horses' as an epithet of dawn (Bartholomae translates 'who makes the horses run swiftly' but the other analysis of the compound is not wrong and is even better), from *rang-* 'to make light, swift,' Sk. *ramhate* 'he runs.' The sound change *v* : *y* is now established through Turfan fragments; also *y* : *y*, s. Av *rayi-* Op *ragā-*, and Np *ray* which was the pronunciation in Mp also, cf. ArmGr 70. It is true that Ptr does not use our word, but only *səβuk*, *tēž* or *frāx*, and that a Pamir dialect has *ranjk*, AiW 1528. But now we have the evidence from Parači *raw*, *rav* 'quickly', *raw čhi dàl H.* 'he went quickly to H.' Morgenstierne, Indo-Iranian Front. Lan. 285, compares simply Np *raw* 'go thou', but this cannot be a proper explanation, especially when we have the corresponding Av. word. As a subsequent note I add that Hadank has given another list of dialects etc. where the same word occurs, OLZ 1931 col. 738 f.

(3) Further, the term is again used as an epithet of the horse in one more Mp passage: *kē až dar ò dar pa asp i ray u rōž i vahāriy* (s. ms. DH) *pa* 15 *rōž šayēd šudan* 'which it is possible to traverse from gate to gate

on a swift horse and in spring days within fifteen days' GrBd 210. 11 ff. This translation with the explanation of the term in question was sent by me to Prof. Christensen after the other one quoted in his Les Kayanides p. 84 n. 2; but somehow it was not received, as he later on informed me. Here we have neither changed nor added nor omitted anything, and yet have obtained a perfectly good sense.

(4) Thus when the meaning of *ray* is ascertained to be 'swift', the solution of *x^rarrēh* becomes easy. If genuine, it should be *x^rarrēh-ōmand*. AiW gives *x^rarenah-* as adj. also, but Hertel, Beit, 22 n. 1, 75 n. 4, declares that wrong. In any case, *x^rarrēh* as adj. is unknown. One may therefore believe that it is not genuine. It is quite possible that a copyist took our *ray* to be the common-word and coupled it with its usual companion *x^rarrēh*. If this supposition be wrong, we can retain the term as it is and take it in the sense of 'shining' or 'strong' developed from the original meaning 'filled with the fire of victory', s. Hertel, Aw. Herrschafts - und Siegesfeuer 75 ff., especially the name Farnāspē which shows that the term was used with reference to horses also. This however does not necessarily mean that we are to take also *ray* in the usual sense of Av. *rayi*.

(5) *šayēday* 'able, capable'. This formation from *šayastan*, *šay-* does not occur in Np where *šayista* serves its purpose; nor is there preserved the original meaning from Av. *xšā(y)*- 'to be able, to rule', but 'worthy, suitable' —well-bred, polite is not recorded by Vullers. Also in Mx 2. 28, 51, 3, 6, 7, 'able' etc. is meant and not 'worthy'. In the present case we may adopt even 'ruling, having authority', for in Y 62. 5 (Ny 5. 11; etc.) the following epithets occur in a similar context: *karšō. rāzam vyāxanam—kišvar virāy i hanjamaniy* 'governing a region and belonging to an assembly.'

(6) *hu-ram u hu-niyāk* I rendered with 'good flocks and good provisions' while giving selections from this text elsewhere. But now I have preferred 'merriment and music'. The former disturbs the logical order, and there are also other difficulties, especially about the second word. The first I took as *hu-ramay* used for Av. *hwādwa*- of. also *huramayōmānd* which shows that the former is not only a compound adj. but also a noun. The second word occurs in the sense of 'music, song', but since Np *navā* means also 'food, provisions, grains' I preferred this as more suitable along with 'flocks'. (Also Anklesaria gives "food and fodder", but it cannot be said for which terms, since he omits some of them after 'silver'). But the word cannot be read *hu-nivāk* with -v- as is done by Unvala, King Husrav p. 64, but *hu-niyāy* like Np *xunyā*. It is true that MpT, Sogd, and Arm lw. point to *nivāy*, but *niyāy* is the proper southern form of the same word. Unvala is wrong when he compares (هـ)ۚۖۖۖ of PV 13. 46, 48; this is quite a different word meaning 'pleasing', Av. *x"andra-kara-*. For 'music' etc. we have everywhere هـۖۖۖ. All this means that we have to drop 'good provisions' and adopt 'music, singing', which in its turn suggests that *hu-ram* is not 'good flocks', but rather 'good pleasure, merriment'. It is true that it as well as *hu-rām* is used as adj., for instance in AVn 3. 4 etc. and Mx 2. 185 etc. respectively; but the compound can mean also 'good pleasure' and not only 'having (giving) good pleasure'. Note that in MpT *rām* is 'pleasure, joy', though in Np 'pleasant, joyful'; and *hu-ram* is not something different as may be supposed because of -rr- in Np *xurram*, which is said to be etymologically correct, GIrPh 1. 264, 1 b. 193; but no explanation is given, and hence -rr- may not be genuine.

(7) The idea is often repeated in the parallel texts, but we may quote only two places: *rāmišn u bazm* PazT

100. 25, Tîrandâz 250 ; and the following from the prayer known as *čiðrəm buyât* from its beginning, or as *du'â i bahrâm varjâvand*, (recited on a similar occasion, in the *âfrinagân i gahanbûr* Riv. 351 8. ff.) : *šumâ, i vehân hêð, hamîša andar šâdî u bazm bêð; u-tân vars avar sar, u-tân may u jâm andar* (or: *pa*) *dast, u-tân sparm andar bâzû, u-tân huniyâ pa gôš....* 'You, who are of the light religion, may you be ever in merriment and at entertainment; and [may there be] hair on your head, and wine and wine-cup in your hands, and basil (or: aromatic herb) on your arms, and music for your ears'...PazT 162. 2 ff., Riv. 407. 3 ff., Tîrandâz 377 f. The latter is wrong when he renders *sparm* with *bâzûband* 'bracelet, armlet,' and *huniyâ* or *xunyâ* with *gôšvâra* 'ear-ring'. It is strange enough that a Persian has failed to recognise the Persian's fondness for flowers and music which is not lost even to-day, and attributed unknown meanings to common words. We have noted from PRiv 167. 7 ff. that two pieces of basil were meant to be put on the ears of every member after the ceremony was over; here we see another use of it; and still another of various flowers during drinking-bouts described in the *Šâh-nâma*, s. Rosenberg's article in this Journal No. 19 p. 32. The well known passion for wine shows itself in §§ 19 f. also.

17c

After the particular or special blessings the general one follows, expressed in a climax. It is possible that there is one more step or grade in the words after *rôz*:
 ﴿ ۱۲۵۷۶ ۶۶ ۶ ۳۹۶۱ ﴾ 'and goodness from [all] this for the host.' This translation of the handed down text is perfectly good. But one may feel that it disturbs the style or introduces a new idea rather abruptly. Note also that we miss the usual pronoun *es* (or *o*) before the host, which might have been omitted because of the

preceding ፩ ፪. I thought therefore to separate the words thus: ፩ ፪ ፭-፻ ፭-፻' and to see in ፭-፻ the ideogram for 'hour.' 'The good hour for the host' would continue and complete the figure of speech. The only difficulty was that I failed to find an Iranian term for 'hour', or rather what I found was not satisfactory. The ideogram can be compared with Aramaic *š̄h*, s. Gesenius, Heb. u. Aram. Handwörterbuch p. 992 under 'Stunde.' The 'Ain is generally represented by the Waw in Pahlavi, which is however missing in our word ፭-፻ for ፭-፻. As to the Iranian equivalent, we may think of *hâsr* into which a full day was divided. There were long, short, and shortest *hâsra-s*, twelve, eighteen, and twenty-four of which made a day and night, s. my Šns Introduction § 15. This term is used with reference to an Av. passage; the same can be said of N. p. 20, 16 ff., and it is not met with in the sense of 'hour' in other places. Moreover, its ideogram is quite different ፭-፻, FrP. 31. 5, cf. p. 117. ፭ zamân is the word used for 'hour' proper in the chapter on intercalation, DkM 402. 6 and often. It occurs also in DkM 524, 15, 21: ôš i marðômân andar har zamân zamân frâz rasêd and ka marð bê mîrêd ân zamân druž andar tan baređ. Here it can mean simply 'time.' In any case, it is not a different word, but only a different form of *zamân* 'time.' This can be seen from MpT where the latter is used for 'hour' also. For the change *â*: *î* s. my Šns 2, 43 n. 1. Thus it becomes doubtful whether the speaker could have used the same word twice. Furthermore, in Np and other Iranian tongues only the Arabic term is used.—I leave therefore this point open.

18a

Here begins the third and last point, of thanksgiving, first on behalf of the host, we may presume, and then unto

the host himself. Here too we notice distinct groups as in the first point. Thanks are rendered first to Ohrmazd etc., then to the four classes of Iranian society, and thirdly to established Fires which have supreme importance in the eyes of the Mazdâh-worshippers. Even today one of the standing toasts on festive occasions is *âtâs beherâm pâd-sâh* (*nâ pây takht*) *nî salâmatî* 'hail unto (the residence of) the King, Fire Beherâm' besides *yazdân nî yâd* 'in memory of God'; similarly while praying for help they utter *âtâs beherûm pâd-kâh nî madad* besides *yazdân* (or *dâdâr hormajd*) *nî madad*.

After this so to say religious and stereotyped group comes the worldly and actual group of those who helped to make the occasion a success: cooks and table boys, musicians and minstrels, gate keepers and others. And lastly the host himself is thanked.

Note that I have purposely not added *i* after *spâs*, for it is omitted in all the cases except the first two: the speaker might have done it for the sake of rhetoric.

18d

What follows need not be especially distinguished; it is said with reference to the same point, as further reasons for thanking the host. The text as handed down runs thus: ۶۷۸ ۷۸ ۴۹۸ ۴۹۸ ۴۹ ۹۱ but no sense can be gathered from it without far-fetched suppositions and conjectures, especially about the third word. On the other hand, we get a perfectly good style and sense by mere another separation of the middle words: ۶۷۸ ۷۸ ۴۹۸ which then shows that ۷۸ is a common mistake for ۷۹. In short, the speaker praises the dinner and the company with these words: *nêway mân pihan, u staßr mân sîr, u pahлом mân ham-rasišnîh*. Note that *staßr* is a standing epithet of *sîr* when a grand dinner or banquet is meant.

First of all compare the parallel text PazT 104, 23 ff. Riv 397, 15 ff., where the context is not quite clear, and yet it can be said that here too the speaker praises the dinner party: *či sūr staþr, x^oarišn pâk, u may x^oas, u sparham hu-bôy, u mènišn aþayišnî(y), u kad x^oadây ham-vinišnî(y), û parastayân tarsâgâh, u mènišn a-vinâh-gar u hu-frûxta* 'for the dinner is grand,—food pure, and wine pleasant, and basil fragrant, and the mood [of the company] agreeable, and the master of the house equally attentive, and the servants obedient, and their (?) minds sinless and well-trained.' And then see the following from an allegorical passage about what to eat and how to eat: *sûr staþr x^oarišn,..... pa <.....> huniyâyîh x^oarišn ; sûr staþr x^oardan è gust: ku pa ân i mad èstèd x^oarsand ; pa huniyâyîh x^oardan è : farrax^o mènišnih[â] x^oardan* 'one should eat a grand dinner, one should eat with music; to eat a grand dinner is called this: namely, to be content with that which is come (= got); to eat with music is this: to eat with happy (or 'broad', if फृत्ते is to be strictly taken, as *frûx*^o) mind' DkM 545, 1 ff. Mark also here the reference to music as a requisite on the occasion. (*x^oar-* in *x^oarsand*. Nyberg Hb 2.133 reads *xôr-* and derives it from Av. *avara-* 'down, below'; but then the Paz would not have been *x^oar-*, nor Np *x^oar-* beside *xur-*; nor does the meaning suit.)

18e

Lastly the speaker declares that he is sincere in his praises, though we miss a pronoun at the beginning or a verb at the end. As to *stâyišnîy* 'sincere', cf. its use for Av. *à-stav-* meaning 'to praise' as well as 'to believe in, confess, avow' AiW 1594 f. We may also say 'praising' or 'avowing'. In any case, this epithet is explained or supplemented with the following ones: 'thinking or mental' etc. but translated 'with thought' etc. for the sake of

clearness. Hence *u* has been rendered with 'i.e.' as several times in my Šnš, s. p. 166. Had it been an ordinary conjunction, it would have appeared after *mēnišnīy* also. Of course, mistakes about *u* are common, but that would not affect our view; and even if this be wrong, the sense will remain the same.

18f

The speech is finished with the words 'there is no other thing [to add]' with which may be compared the end of Persian letters 'there is no more petition' and the like.

19a

The rest, which also does not fall within the programme of the speech enunciated in § 2, was delivered after the dinner was finished. The preceding must have been delivered before it began, for the first point would be quite out of place if that were not the case, and the next two are connected with it as § 2 declares (s. App., p. 88 f.). The second speech begins with *bà* 'but' which has the force of 'well, now'. Note the pleasant tone reminding us of a modern after-dinner speech. — As to *sér*, the earlier pronunciation was *sayr* as we now know from MPPs.

19b

It is quite possible that *bē* stands for *pa* or *bē ō* as a preposition to *śmāy*. But as it is, we must take *śmāy vēhān* as vocative, or translate 'you are not able' or 'it is not possible for you' ..., which latter, I feel, would not suit what follows, especially § 20 a, 'For I ... ', showing that the speaker refers to himself. Perhaps we are hypercritical; and we have to leave the text and translation as it is. If *வுவு* were for *எவு* and not for *எவு* as we have shown it to be in n. 54, the decision would have been quite against that latter view.

20a

(1) I have left the text as it is, though it seems that something is missing before the second *čē man* 'for I.' It is however equally possible that the speaker changed his mind or corrected himself (note that he has eaten and drank too much as he admits) and began the sentence anew. By removing the second *čē man*, we do not improve the text, unless we give another explanation of *śvar*, which is not possible. I have taken it to be the usual word 'above, high' hence 'highly, overmuch.'—As to *farrax-*
īhātar, note that *-tar* and *-tom* are added to the adv. form, and these words are used as adj. in several cases, Šns 11. 3, AnO 4 f., and also below 20c.

(2) *śv* is the only word that I have failed to read and interpret satisfactorily. So much is certain that, it along with the preceding *ārð* 'flour' means some dish of food; cf. the numerous compound terms with Np *ārd*, especially *ārd* (*u*) *rōyan* 'a kind of sweetmeat' and *ārd-śv* 'milk and flour pottage.' For the reading *jīvay*, cf. *jīv* 'milk' offered up in the ceremony, an abbreviation of Av. *gāuš jīvyam*. Today *jīvām* is common; but in Mp *jīv*, in Np *jām*, *jūm*; s. my Šns 2. 43 n. 1. But note that they are used for the sacrificial milk only, and therefore the formation *jīvay* remains doubtful.

(3) Bailey in his letter Aug. 2. 1933 suggested to take *śv* as a clerical mistake for *śv* (which mistake is quite easy and is said to be actually met with in GrBd and Zs.—I have noticed it in the latter 9. 15) and then as an ideogram of *mēvay*. But it is doubtful whether there is such an ideogram, as it is concluded from FrP 4. 1: *čahārom dar* *śv mēvayīhā*. This chapter contains the names of grain and fruit both; hence we are probably to read *dānay* [*u*] *mēvayīhā*; and more so when we do not know a similar Sem. term. Secondly, *mēvay* 'fruit' is quite

acceptable in a *myard* as the occasion is said to be, but then *ārð* 'flour' alone does not suit the context. We must therefore stick to the original idea that *ārð u* 'is some dish or article of food.'

(4) The problem can perhaps be solved if 'is' were a mistake for 'as' cf. FrP *4, 2 which gives this as a var. of the other, and although it looks like an attempt to correct the other into *nâm i* 'names of,' it might as well suggest the possibility that the two words were easily exchanged. In such a case, I should take 'is' as an ideogram of *kunjēð* FrP 4. 3 occurring in Zs 9. 2: *čiyôñ kunjēð, mazg čihray rây, x"âd mêh* (or: ⁺ *mazg*) *ast, i aþzâyènây i mazg* 'just as sesame, owing to its marrow-substance, is itself great (or: + marrow), which is the increaser of marrow.' GrBd 118. 2 = BdK 65. 11 mentions *kunjâð* or *kunjêð* as one of the oil (*rôyn*) seeds. Also in Np *kunjid, -ud, -id* is only sesame or rape-seed; but the compound *ārd(a) kunjid* means a dish (or rather cake, *čangâl*) of fresh (ripe) dates and syrup, flour and butter being self-evident. Some such cake or sweetmeat is quite suitable, this type of articles are commonly prepared for ceremonial purposes as well as on festive occasions like the present one.

20b

In these parting wishes and advice to the company the one about seeing God in dream is worth noting. We have separated ፻፻ into ፻፻, for we require *u* 'and', and *vêhân* 'those of the light religion' is not so good. Also Anklesaria gives 'God' and not the other.

20 c

The changes we have made here are explained in the notes and they do not require further comments. As to

the var. शः लि there are two possibilities: *kē...ōē* 'whom' like Np *ki...ū rā*, or *kē* 'whom' and *ō pa* a double preposition; but the former is unknown, whereas the latter is common,—which I have therefore preferred. I do not think *ōē* = his is meant here.

21

These stereotyped sentences are commonly added after the invocation of blessings.

The end formula of welfare etc. is also noteworthy inasmuch as we see that it is meant for all the faithful, and not for the copyist (or the author if he added it) alone, as we used to believe in the absence of the last words.

APPENDIX

Here I want to add some further details and discussions on a number of points that have occurred to me later on.

To p. 23 f., PV 8. 22 com.

Note that Khurshedji Pavri, J. Iran. Asso. 11, 344 ff., declares the gl. about the omission of *x^oarata narô* as a mistake. He translates *pa-č drôn* by 'even for the *drôn* [cake]', and argues that if those words, conveying the request to taste, are not recited, the tasting of the *drôn* becomes unlawful. But if we adopt our translation 'in the *drôn* [ceremony]', there arises no such incongruity. On the contrary, the gl. becomes then necessary; for, according to his own statement (p. 347), the § with *x^oarata narô* is recited in one *drôn* ceremony at least, namely in that of the *nâvar*; and the gl. warns us against its use on the other occasion in question. Or can it be said that, since that § is not recited in other *drôn* ceremonies, there is no necessity of emphasising that fact? In that case we should translate *pa-č drôn* by 'even for the *drôn* [cake]', namely in the *yazišn* ceremony. But then what is to be done with that *drôn*? As we said above, there is room for clear light on the passage; but I believe I am not totally wrong.

To what I have already adduced in this connection above (p. 24) I can add one more detail observed in Persia. According to the late Dastur Khudayar Shahryar the *hamâzôr* (i.e., the ritual formula and not the prayer, as it should be made clear), recited by the *deh-môbad* while presenting the fire to the congregation in the *gâh-anbâr* and other ceremonies, is substituted by *hazaiərəm baešazanam* etc. in the *čahâram* or the fourth day ceremony after death,

see Zaratoštī I. 180. Unfortunately, the author has not mentioned this point in his English essay on the same subject, see MadMemVol 313; otherwise I could have referred to it above in the proper place. Moreover, all this shows that a detailed account of the Zoroastrian ceremonies and customs as observed in Persia is a great desideratum; but nobody seems to have made it one of his objects in visiting that ancient country.

To pp. 50 and 61.

As to 'light, shining' as the meaning of *vēh*, I find a further evidence in al-Bīrūnī, Chronology, Sachau's tr., p. 53: Anīrān is called by some Bih-rōz. Now *anīrān* is from *anayra- raočah-* 'infinite light'; and if the same day is called *bih* (*vēh*), the latter too must have had a similar sense in those days.

To p. 63 (§ 9).

The other places where the royal epithet or form of address, *mardān pahlom*, is used are King Husrav and his Page 66, 69, 103, 108, 110—in 18 the king is addressed even thus: *ka-tān pa yazdān pahlomih sahēd* (or does the phrase really refer to God?) Then in Braun, Ausgewählte Akten Pers. Märtyrer, 33 f., 66 f., 212. In KNS 12. 13, it is applied to Šāhpuhr who then was only the crown-prince;—we can hardly connect it with the preceding epithet *ardāširān* 'of A.'; note that in this work the king himself is never addressed like that, but simply *anōšay bavēd*. This however does not mean that the epithet was not in vogue in the days of the first Sasanid. On the contrary, the Parthian form *pahlom* might even suggest that it existed long before him. For the other epithets used by the Sasanian kings for themselves s. Christensen EmpSas 88, where the present one is not mentioned.

To p. 65 (§ 12).

The name *ērān-gušnasp* in ŠE. 56 is perhaps wrong; in that case it stands for *vahrān-gušnasp*, as I show in my forthcoming study on the text.

To p. 65 f. (§ 13).

After the above note was written, I came upon the Mp title *šahr-dâwer* in Syriac. Originally it was read *šahr-dawēr* by Hoffmann, Auszüge aus Syr. Akten Pers. Martyrer 65, who took it to be a 'state secretary' (Reichssekretär). But judging from the context, that the bearer of the title was made the commissioner for putting to death a certain heretic, one would expect here a judge and not a secretary or writer. And Nöldeke, Gott. Gel. Auz. 1880, p. 878, actually preferred to see in the original term *dâwer* 'judge' which is quite justified. He however wrongly attributed the meaning of 'district', and not 'state' or 'empire', to *šahr* in the title. It is true that also Christensen, EmpSas 40, prefers to take *šahr* in the sense of province or even canton. But note that he does not seem to know the correction of Nöldeke about *dâwer*, he simply follows Hoffmann in reading *dabîr* (*dawēr*); and since the chief secretary of state was known as *ērān-dißēr-βād* or *dißērān mahist*, Christensen is so to say forced to take *šahr-dißēr* as a provincial secretary,—by reading *dâwer* there will be no such necessity. However this may be, the original meaning of *šahr* is 'kingdom, empire', and we can show that such is the case in the title in question.

Firstly, the context in other places indicates that *šahr-dâwer* was a higher authority; the title is used along with some others that are applied to the first persons of the state, namely with the *rad* and with the *ainbed* ('chief of records', not mentioned by Christensen but cf. *āyinnāmagh*, EmpSas 21, 96) and the *môpetān mōpēt*, s. Braun,

Ausgewählte Akten Pers. Märtyrer 197, 213. In both the cases they are further designated as the aristocrats or great men of the Magians. (In the second case *kardag* and *azadsad* are taken to be names; can they be titles?) Note that Braun reads the title in question as *šahr-dârwer* without any remark except the quotation of the two meanings attached to it by Hoffmann and Nöldeke. Thus the reading is further ascertained.

Secondly, *šahr*, just like *êrân*, is used as a distinctive sign in the formation of the titles of the highest officers of the state. The examples with *êrân* are well known; those with *šahr* not so, but one example is met with in a later contemporary record and the same is supported by a later authority: it is *əša०r-ahm[â]r-dipêr* (*šahr-hamâr-dipêr*) 'state's secretary for accounts (=treasury or finance)', s. Paik, 195. That in such an old title—note the Pahlavîk form for its antiquity—*šahr* can only have its old meaning is self-evident. Further, it is quite possible that the full distinctive sign of state's secretaries or ministers was *êrân-šahr*, and that when *êrân* or *šahr* alone is used, we are to see therein the abbreviated form. Of course, the full form is not yet met with, but it may come to light one fine day. [On the different grades of titles s. now Herzfeld Arch. Mitt. aus Iran 7. 20.]

Under these circumstances the use of *mew* in mss. is not a mistake; the mistake, if at all, lies in the use of the foll. *î* and in that of the pl. suf. *-ân* in *dâðawarân*. The addition or omission of *î* is a very common clerical mistake; but not so *-ân*. I have therefore retained all the words, and inserted simply *dâðawar* after *šahr* to suit the known title as well as the wording of the text, the whole meaning 'the empire judge of judges' literally. I do not think we can take *šahr* as the 'lord or chief' in this connection, nor explain the title *šâhrîst* of the justices of

peace, Christensen EmpSas 31.

As to the above-mentioned *xšaθr-ahm[â]r dipēr*, it is not quite correct to identify it with *šahr hamār dafīra* in the list of the Sasanian Registers (*kitābat*) given by al-Xvārazmī, Mafātih al-'Ulūm. Herzfeld, Paik. 195, seems to do so when he explains the term by "the minister of the revenue of the Empire". But he perhaps simply means that there were corresponding ministers or writers, *dipēr*. However this may be, the context in the inscription (p. 103) points to a personage and not to an institute; and the mention of *xšadrap[â]v ahm[â]r-kâr* in the same place points to the fact that that personage was an imperial officer, whereas these must have been his assistant account-keepers,—very probably his provincial subordinates, for *xšadrap[â]v* in this case means satrap, the provincial governor, whence also *šahr* in the other stands for *ērān šahr*,—at any rate, for the whole empire and not for a province.

That such is the case can further be seen from the Armenian titles *Sahrayeanpet* and *Pars[ay]eanpet*, ArmGr 59. The latter, with the name of the province *Pars*, is certainly a provincial title or office. Thus provincial titles or offices included the name of the particular province, which is quite natural and even necessary; therefore, those with *šahr* cannot be provincial but must be imperial ones.

[Above we have referred to the omission of *āyēnβād* by Christensen, but it seems from various contexts that very probably it was not the designation of an office or a minister but simply an honorary title.]

To p. 67 (§ 14b).

I should have added that the chief of the king's body-guards is called *pūštīyβān-sâlār* (Parthian *sardār*) in KnS 10. 7—he holds the third place just after *ērān-spâhaβād* in a list of five dignitaries of the royal court—and that

pūṣṭiyābān was a usual term for a bodyguard, s. ArmGr 255. Thus it might seem that *hazāraβād* had some other office in charge under the Sasanids, but the account in Braun, Ausgewählte Akten Pers. Märtyrer 111 ff. would show that such was not the case. The purport of the account is this: the king is somewhere away from the capital; he there orders the *mōpēt* and the '*hazāraft*' to go and tell a certain Christian colony to give up their religion, for doing which they are to be rewarded, otherwise put to sword. The two go with a troop of a hundred cavalrymen and two hundred foot-soldiers for fulfilling this order. We can well believe that the *mōpēt* is to use his tongue,—which he is expressly said to have done,—the other his sword, his military or police power, although he is not mentioned as giving the command to the soldiers. Even if the *mōpēt* did it, yet the '*hazāraft*' might have been the virtual commander of the troop, which in its turn could well have been the body-guards for the king on tour rather than a local army or police force. It can be suggested that *hazāraβād* was more of a title, the proper designation being *pūṣṭiyābān-sālār*, for the chief of the king's body-guards. In any case, I have not thought it desirable to change *هَذَا* into *هَذِهِ* over *هَذِهِ*, however tempting it may be,—even in the absence of the new evidence.

To p. 79 (§ 19).

The argument, that the first point in the speech, namely, the *hamay-zōhr* portion,—and consequently the remaining two also—must have been pronounced before the dinner began, is quite natural and also in consonance with the present-day usage about the tasting of sacrificial food in the *gāh-anbār* and other ceremonies. But the passages quoted above on p. 16 show that the meal was taken before the *myazd* and the *afriṇayān* were performed; and if these refer to the

technical ritual functions, we can safely assume that also in the present case the whole speech was delivered at the end of the dinner. This view may be preferable as to the other points, but not as to the first one which cannot then be said to represent the offer ceremony (see pp. 19, 52). However, it is not without interest to learn that also among the Pamir Tajiks blessings are invoked after and not before the meal on festive occasions which may be compared with our *gâh-anbâr* or season festivals, see Lentz, Auf dem Dach der Welt 207, 209, 213. We may also refer to the modern practice of reciting the *tan-durustî* prayer for the entertainer after the dinner, Modi Cerem., 372. All this is of course not decisive for the doubtful point, which would not have arisen at all, had there been, say, a verb *bûd* or *ast* in § 18d.

INDEX OF DISCUSSED PASSAGES

[Only those passages that are either more or less commented upon or differently translated by me are mentioned here. The other numerous passages searched and cited or even quoted for a particular word or matter are simply passed over. The index of words and that of subject-matter will guide the reader to them.]

AVn	3. 20 f. ...	16	PY	1. 8 etc. ...	66 f.
Čk	12. ...	70		7. 14 etc. ...	66 f.
DkM	516. 18 ff. ...	15		30. 8	... 14
	522. 18 ff. ...	13		34. 3	... 17
	545. 1 ff. ...	78	Riv	391. 8 f. ...	68
FrO	33. 3 ff. ...	60		397. 15 ff. ...	78
FrP	4. 1 ...	80		403. 6	... 68
GrBd	32. 12 ff. ...	25		404. 14	... 63
	210. 11 ff. ...	73		407. 3 ff. ...	75
H	2. 15 ...	26	II	21. 16 ff. ...	18
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MYFr	3. 94 ...	64	ŠE	56. ...	85
PazT	85. 4 f. ...	68	Šnš	6. 3 ff. ...	27
	88. 14 ...	63	Tirandáz	377 f. ...	75
	92. 10 f. ...	68	V	19. 30	... 28
	104. 23 ff. ...	78	Y	19. 6	... 26
	162. 2 ff. ...	75		25. 5	... 62
	361. 11 f. ...	16	Yt.	12. 35 ff. ...	26
PT	72. 7 ff. ...	27		15. 0	... 62
	133. 7 ...	21	Zs	6. 12	... 60
	134. 3 ...	21		9. 2	... 81
PV	2. 40 com.	56		22. 10	... 66
	8. 22 com.	23f., 83	(= ZsA 23. 5)		

INDEX OF DISCUSSED WORDS.

[Besides the words actually discussed in the commentary or elsewhere, I have also included here some rare and interesting vocables on the one hand and technical terms on the other. The latter could have been better inserted in the index of subject-matter, but there I have referred to them under their meanings or under some general head. Meanings are sometimes added for the sake of convenience. The present occasion is also used for giving a couple of new views and further details.]

- aβarang*, splendour, 69 f.
aβâyišnîy, desirable (as often in Mx), or accomplished (as in KnS 1. 24 f., 2. 1 from the literal meaning 'as it should be'; cf. French *comme il faut*). I do not see that in the former case the word means "genau the first gentleman", as Herzfeld, Arch. Mitt. Iran 7. 18, says, although we are prepared to adopt his rendering 'noble' in our § 10 as well as in KnS); but 'agreeable' (of mood, mind) 78.
afrasâvand, indestructible, 13 (DkM 522-20).
amešâspand, 53 f.
andarzaβâd, chief counsellor, leader, 66.

- andâxtan*, to prepare, 46 (18c).
arzânîy = *vêh-dêñ*, *ašo*, 68 (15a).
asar rôšnîh, 56.
ašo = *ahrav*, 42 (7).
ažaβar, overmuch, 48 (20a); above-mentioned (or: high = great, much?), 46 (18e).
âfrîn, a group of benedictory prayers in Mp (Paz.) like the foll. ones, 11, 17, 21, 24.
âfrîn i myazd, 11, 69.
âfrîn i rapiðwin, 22.
(âfrîn i sûr, 11.)
âfrinayân, a benedictory ceremony, 16 f., 22, 69.
âfrinayân i srôš, 23 f.
ârd u jîvay, 80 (2).
ârd u kunjêð, 81(4).
**âyêñβâd*, minister of cultural records or affairs, 87.

bar, fruit (in fig. sense), 13
 (DkM 522. 18 ff.).
b(av)ēδ, used for *b(av)āδ*, 52
 (2).
bē but = well, now! 79 (19).
brāzāy, shining, 56 (4).
brāzdāy, " "
brāzyāy, " "

čand, as.....as possible, 60 (2).

dahišnān=subjects, 64 (11).
dahm, gift (Av. *dasma*-), 15
 (DkM 516. 20).
damastān, S form of
zamastān, 61.
daraþān, gate-keeper, 46
 (18b).
dāδ-gāh, (fire-)temple, 42
 (6).
dāδay, judge, 65 f. (13).
**dāδīy*, " "
-dāk, 57.
dāmān, people, 64 (3).
dāštan, preservation (of
 body *tan*), 13 (DkM 522.
 19).
**diþeraþād*, chief of the
 secretaries, 85.
diþerān mahist, " "
drōn, a kind of ceremony,
 14, 17, 83.
drōn yāz, sacrificer of *d.*,
 67 f. (14c).

ēv-karday, jointly 24.

fravahr = *fravaš*, divine
 (and protective) light
 attached to beings, 62.

gāh, hymn, prayer 62 (8).
gāh-anbār, a kind of cere-
 mony and feast, 15, 19, 89.
gāhānīy, a class of Zoroas-
 trian priests—concerned
 with the A.v. books (*nask*)
 of the same name, 15
 (DkM 516. 18).
'gāušdāk', sacrificial animal
 food, 14, 16.
gētā (or: *gēðā*), world, 56.
gētāh, incorrect for the
 prec., 56.
gētīy, 56.
gētīh (or: *gēðīh*), 56 f.
gōkās i vāvar, a 'priest' of
 the lowest grade, lower
 than a judicial one, 66
 (ZsA 23. 5).
gōš andar dāštan, to hear
 attentively, 51 (2).
gōyōd for A.v. *gaoyaoti*—
 pasture, 61.
guft, say, speech, statement,
 48 (19c).

ham, this very, 70.
hamāy-zōhr, 11, 21-24, 52, (s.
 also *afriñ*).

hamāy-zōhr bavēð, name of a ritual, 23 (PV 8. 22 com.).
hamāy-zōr, all powerful, 24.
ham-rasišnīh, meeting, company, assembly, 46 (18d).
ham-vinišnīy, equally attentive, 78.
harburz, 28.
hazāraβað, 67, 88.
hōm drōn, 14.
hōm st̄r, 14.
huniyāγ(ih), music, singing, 74, 75, 78.
huniyāγgar, musician, songwriter, 46 (18b).
huram, joy, merriment, 74.
**hutuxšaβað*, 67.

i, unto (*spās i*, thanks unto, —similary in Guj. etc.), 46 (18a), 77.
-ih, as pl. suf., 58, 64 (11).
-ihā-tar, as adj. suf., 80 (1)
-ihā-tom, „ „ „ „ „

**jašn* a kind of ceremony and feast, 18, 22.
živay(?), milk, 80 (2).
žovān, brave (cf. Np *javān-mard*), 46 (17b).

kunjēð, 81 (4).

mavāyan andarzaβað, 66.

marðān pahлом, 63, 84.
māhīyāñ ī āβādīñ ī až yaz-dāñ, one of the titles given to our text, 10.
māhīyāñ, month's day (of death), 12.
mēnišn, mind, mood, 78.
mēray, master, Mr., 71 (15c).—

The old terms for the master and mistress of the house have remained in Np *kad-xudā* and *kad-bāñi*. Then *bāñi* alone is also used for 'mistress, lady'; but not so *xudā*, and quite naturally, since the term is restricted to God. In Mp, however, where it is used for persons, in social and civil sense (s. Bartholomae, MirM 3.30 ff.), it might have had the common meaning of 'mister', whereby we are to remember that everybody was *not* a mister or an esquire as in English today. In the present case *mēray* is used in the same sense and, although it has quite other shades of meanings elsewhere (s. Šns 8. 14 n. 13), so it might have been often. We can judge this from Np *mīra* and *mīr*,

which too belongs to our term and not to Arabic *amīr*, and which is extensively used in various compounds; cf. also *mīr-zā*, which is given beside *ākā* and *āyā* by Wollaston for 'mister'.

There is another word, *x^vāja*, which can claim to have the same sense; but it is not traced in an earlier language. It may be noted, however, that in Balūči the corresponding *vāža* is used for master, with or without *lōy* 'house', but for 'mistress' only with, *lōy-bānūx*; whereas in Paštú the other, *mērah*, is common.

The regularity and popularity of *bānū* can be observed in the present-day mode of addressing an audience by the Parsis in India: *bānū-o ane grhasth-o* 'ladies and gentlemen'. Here for 'ladies', they selected the familiar Persian word, but for 'gentlemen' no such common word was found. Formerly they must have simply used *māzdayasnān* (as in the sermon in PT 51) or some other

term designating Zoroastrians. The Hindu neighbours do not use *bānū-o*; they have coined *sannārī-o* to pair with *sajjan-o*.

mēznāy, cloud; hole, pit, 55 (2).

muyān andarzaβād, 66.
myazd, a kind of ceremony and feast, 15-19.

myazdaβān, host, entertainer, 40 (2), 44 (15c), 46 (18c).

našk, pomegranate, 16 (KnS 7-8).

nāmečīst(iγ), especially, 50 (3); express, 44 (16).

nērōγ, manliness, strength, 54.

ôhrmazd, 53, 58.

pa miyān, 69 (cf. *ô miyān*, AVn 1. 10).

pahray, protector, 40 (3); (s. Paik 232, Arch. Mitt. Iran 7. 57).

parastay-ān, servants, 78.

parsom, supreme, majestic, 63. *pašom* = *pahlom*, or *parsom*.

pānay, protector, 40 (3).

pēðāyēniðan, to make manifest = to describe, 42 (8), 63.

pēšgāh, court, eminent place, 57 (6); cf. the meanings in Np.

pihan, food = fuel, 60 (3).
pus i vāspuhr, crown-prince, heir-apparent, 63 (10).

puštīy bār, body-guard, 87.

ram, pleasure, joy, 74.

ray, swift, 72.

razištāy, most just or truthful, 61; (for Av. *razišta*- Hertel gives 'most shining' and for *rā[x]šnu-* 'protection, protector', IIQF 7).
rāyēnīdān, to perform, to celebrate (of *rōzgār*), 46 (18c); of *myazd* often elsewhere, 16 f.
rōzgār, 11 f.

sayr = *sēr*, satiated, 79 (19).

saxvān, speech, sermon, lecture, 40 (2), 46 (19a).

saxvān guftān, to pronounce or make a speech 46 (19a).
sāltīān, year's day, anniversary (of death), 12.

sī rōzay gāh, 62 f.

sparhm for *sprahm*, 16 f.
spāhaβād, 65.

sprahm, aromatic herb, basil, 16 f.

srūd-gāhān, designation for the priests (or all the faithful?) conversant with the Gāθā-s etc., 62.

stafr, grand (of feast), 78.
**stāyēnīdārīh i sūr āfrīn*, one of the titles given to our text, 10.

**stāyišn i drōn*, " " "
stāyišnīy, sincere (avowing, praising), 78 (18e).

sūr, 13-15.

**sūr āfrīn*, as title of our text 11 (so also Herzfeld, Arch. Mitt. Iran 2. 20 n., with the meaning "Nacht-mahlsegen").

**sūr saxvān*, dinner speech, 11, 20 f.

śahr dādawar, chief judge, 65, 85 ff.

śāh, prince, 64 (this meaning often in the Śāh-nāma, for instance, for Faridūn's sons).

śāhān śāh, 42 (9), 63.

śām, evening meal, etc, 13.

śāyēndāy, able, capable, ruling, 73 (5).

u, that is, 66 (2), 79 (18e).

vahārīy, of spring 73 (GrBd 210.12).

vāzury *framādār*, prime minister, 42, 64 (11).
vārānay (?), cloud, 55 (2).
vāspuhr, 63.
vāspuhrayān(-īha), (-tar), (-tom), 64.
**vāstriyōśān-sālār*, 67.
**vāstriyōś-βād*, 67.
vāy i vēh, 62.
vāz griftan, to begin (the former part of) a prayer, 16 (AVn 3. 20).
vāz guftan, to finish (the latter part of) a prayer, 16 (AVn 3. 20).
vēh, light, bright, 50 (2), 61 (1), 62 (4), 84.
vēh-dēnān = *vēh-dēnān*, 40 (2), 44 (15c), 46 f. (19a-c), 50.
vēh-dēn, 50 (2), 61 (1).
vispuhr, 63.
vispus pād, 63.
vīrō(y) for Av. *vīrō-* 54.
xunakīh, 57.
x'adāyīh i haft kišvar, 58, 69.

x^oamr, dream, 48 (20b).
x^oanay-gar, pleasing, 74, s. *x^oarsand*.
x^oaray-gar, " "
x^oarrēh (57 f.), shining, strong (of horses), 72.
x^oarsand, 78. This as well as the N form *x^oansand* is now rightly derived by Benveniste, JA 1933 p. 243, from Av. *x^oaini-* and **x^oanra-*, which latter explains also *x^oandra-*: just like earlier forms *sunra-* and *sundra-* of Sk. *sundara-*.
x^oāngar, cook, table-boy, 46 (18b).
yāst, 23.
yāst-kard = *sriūd-gāhān*, 62.
yazišn, 23.
zamān, hour, 76 (DkM 402. 6 etc.)
zōhr, 21-23; s. also p. 99.

SOME NOTEWORTHY WORDS IN THE ORIGINAL SCRIPT.

— = *—* 56 (4).

— *x^oanay-gar* or *x^oarāo*, 74, s. *x^oarsand*.

— 57.

— *am* 'I' distinguished from *—* 71.

ગુણ 80.

ગુરૂ 80 f.

ગુરૂના 61.

ગુરૂપદ 55.

ગુરૂજી 79.

ગુરૂના 76.

ગુરૂ ફોર ગુરૂ 60 (3).

The following are from
the non-Zoroastrian works
in Mp (s. also p. 90):—

MpT

abarang, 69.

nahvēn, 13.

nivāy, 74.

xunakīt, 57.

rāvar, 69.

MpPs

xunakə, 57.

SELECT WORDS FROM OTHER LANGUAGES

Avesta:

anayra-, 56.

draonah-, 14.

mânô, 27.

myazda-, 15.

ranjat-aspa-, 72.

ravat-aspa-, 72.

stidâta-, 56.

vara- 56.

vayu-, 62.

x^oadâta-, 56.

x^oandera-kara-, 74, s. Mp

x^oarsand.

New Persian:

ârd u kunjid, 81.

þih-rôz, 84.

dariûn, 14.

dâdak 'ik 'uk, 65.

dâdîg, 66.

hamâ-zôr, 11, 17, 21.—*bâd*,

22 f.—*i dahmân*, 22,

(*ham-vînišnî(y)*, 78.)

hazâr-bandâ, 67.

hazâr-mard, 67.

(*huniyâ*, 75.)

jašn, 18, 22.

maizad, 18.

(*mênišn*, 78.)

mêz, 18.

miyazd, 18.

mîr(a), s. Mp *mîrav*, 93.

mîrad, 18.

parastayân, 78.

rôz, 12.

rôz i husain, 12.

rôzgâr, 12.

shayista, 73.

xurih, 57.

xurram, 74.

x^oâja, s. Mp *mîrav*, 94.

yašt i vi (= *bî*) *zôr*, 23.

Balûči :

lôy-bânûx, s. Mp *mêray* 94

(*lôy-*) *vâza* „ 94

Pâstu :

mêrah, s. Mp *mêray*, 94.

Parâči :

rau, *raw*, 72.

Sanskrit :

(*drûna-*, 14.)

(*jora-*, 22)

mih-, 55.

Gujarati :

dahâdo kar-vo, 12.

(*darân*, 14.)

diso, 12.

kân dhar-vû, etc., 51.

mej, 17, 18.—As to the restriction of this word to 'table', note two things: 1. the Parsis commonly use the English word, and not *mej*, probably because the latter means 'fruit' for them; 2. the derivatives *mejbân* and *mejbânî* (feast) have retained the Persian meanings.

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(19 f.), 79 f.

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Amesâspand, 53 f., 58.

archery festival, 1.

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gâhanbâr, *myazd*, *sûr*.

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41 ff. (3 ff.), 51 f.

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ceremonies, s. Mp. *âfrinayân*,

drôn, *myazd*, *rôzgâr*,

yaziñ.

ceremonies after death,

23 f., 88 f.

Čiθrem buyât, 75.

clergy, 15, 66 ff.

climax, 13, 47 (17c), 76 f.

commanders-in-chief, 65.

crown-prince, 63 f.

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dinner-speech, its date, occasion, plan, etc., 19-21.

dislocation or wrong division of words, 75, 77.

Druž, 76 (DkM 524. 21).

Du'âi bahrâm varjâvand, 75.

earth's, 59.

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feast, s. banquet.

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transliteration, 2-5.
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Yazað-s, 53, 61-63.

ADDITIONS

As to *zôhr* for *zôr* 'strength, power', we have the same orthography in the Syr-Np Fragment of the Psalms, but not also in MpT as might be supposed from F. W. K. Müller's remark, s. Festschrift Sachau 216.

Note also the following Mp. terms in various sources:

Mp. Inscriptions:

xšaðr-ahmâr-dipêr, 86, 87.
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Arabic:

ṣahr hamâr dafîra, 87.
ṣâhrîst, 87.

Armenian:

Parsayeánpet, 87.
Sahrayeánpet, 87.

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hazarâft for *hazâra-*
pet, 88.
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**ṣahr-dâucêr*, 85.
ṣahr-dâucer, 85,